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The Growth of Indian Liberalism in the Nineteenth Century

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PREFACE

For over twenty years I have sustained an intention to write about the history of the Indian Congress. During my stay in London in 1946-47, the great national leaders of India visited London to present their case for Independence before British audiences, and this inspired me with a desire to study the social background of the great organization which was ultimately to establish itself as the Government of the Republic of India.

The material required for the presentation of this fragment of history was collected in the great Libraries of London, and has now been coordinated as to give the reader a grasp of basic ideas dominant in the nineteenth century so that he may be able better to judge which convictions shall prevail. The attempt is to confine the investigation to the political, social and and religious facts of the period and not to present novel theories and startling speculations.

The book is a history of the growth of the liberal spirit whose great concern with Indian freedom rested upon the conviction that Indians should keep open the channels of understanding, and preserve unclouded, lucid and serene their perceptiveness of truth, for in a changing society, the increasing discovery of truth is a prime necessity. It was clear at the outset, that the world the Indians lived in could not be brought under civilised control without the gifts of the liberal spirit which is an effort not of any cult or sect, but of any person to remain clear and free of his irrational, his unexamined and his unacknowledged prejudgments. Prof. Wodehouse of Deccan College, Poona, once said 'I have noticed one real fact about the majority of young men of India, that nearly every one of them given the opportunity would be willing to sacrifice himself for an *idea*. Not only I have seen this in its potentiality, I have seen it actually realised in practice. If the

feeling which animates such men spreads itself through the nations, then all our talk about philosophy becomes idle, because that feeling is the essence of all philosophies. Before the man who sacrifices his own interests for the sake of an idea, every head must bow.'

Such was the spirit that animated Hindu Reformers of the nineteenth century; and in an effort to interpret their thoughts and feelings, I have trespassed with imperfect knowledge into many fields, and I can only ask the specialists in possession of those fields to pardon a presumption that was necessary. A mind traind in an archaeologieal method will be trained to interpret an event or an institution historically and not to use it controversially.

I gratefully acknowledge the assistance of my uncle Sri N. Narasimha Murthy, Retired University Llbrarian, Mysore University, who is an unfailing source of inspiration to me, and who helped me to make the manuscript ready for publication.

I am grateful to Messrs. H. Venkataramiah & Sons, Vidyanidhi Book Depot, Mysore, for kindly taking up the work for publication and seeing the book through the press expeditiously. I am indebted to Sri G. R. Josyer, Editor of the Rationalist, and G.N. Josyer of the Coronation Press for helpful suggestions and for the courtesy and promptitude with which they have completed the printing of the book in a short time. Tables in the form of an appendix and an exhaustive bibliography have been given at the end of the volume.

There are errors of omission and commission; an Index has not been added to the Volume. Uniformity in spelling and in the use of capital letters has ont been maintained, and I crave the indulgence of the reader for the same.

MAHARAJA'S COLLEGE,
7th September 1950

M. V. KRISHNA RAO

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The Growth of Indian Liberalism in the Nineteenth Century



CHAPTER I.

INDIAN SOCIAL ORGANISATION

Some aspects of Hindu Social Character.

India is a unique aggregation of races, complex yet individual, a region of great differences and conditions embracing a strange union of high civilisation and backwardness, of people in different degrees of culture and civilisation. Its climate, history, environment, religion and custom have produced a unique type of society and culture. The stability of Indian society has rested on three factors: (1) the village community which insured the adequate exploitation of the land, (2) the institution of caste by which society was organised on a Co-operative basis with specific and complementary functions attached to each unit of which society was composed, (3) the joint family system, with a set of beliefs embodying sociological and transcendental values which gave meaning and direction to the life of the individual in his relation both to society and to the universe. As long as these factors remained intact India continued essentially unchanged, and it was not till the nineteenth century that the economic foundations on which society had been built up were substantially modified tending to a disintegration of beliefs and structure.

A word of explanation about each one of these factors is necessary in order to appreciate the magnitude of the change that came on society in the last century. The starting point of India's social life is to be found in the village which constituted the primary territorial unit of administration. India has never been dominated by the European form of the feudal system and therefore the *estate* idea has never dominated the village. Foreign travellers have always found India a country of self-ruled villages 'little republics' as they were called. To Manu, the Hindu Law giver, the village was the unit of government and the ascending stages of larger units were merely multiples of villages in tens and hundreds, ultimately grouped into kingdoms. This conception has been reinforced by Kautilya and subsequent writers on Indian polity, and there is plenty of literature to substantiate the fact that India was never poor and uncivilised without arts and crafts of a high order.

This perennial condition was based on its villages which were the foundation of the widespread prosperity of its masses and the source of its overflowing wealth. Sir Charles Metcalfe in 1830 remarked[1] 'The village communities are little republics—they have ever remained the same. This union of village communities each one forming a little state in itself has contributed more than any other cause to the preservation of the people of India through all the revolutions and changes *which they have suffered, and is in a high degree conducive to their happiness and to the enjoyment of a* great portion of freedom and independence.' Sir Henry

[1] Elphinstone: The History of India. 1874, p. 252

Maine accepts this view of Metcalfe in his book 'Village Communities' when he says—'The village Council (Panchayat) is always viewed as a representative body and not as a body possessing inherent authority. The municipal feeling is deeply rooted in the people of India.[1] Sir Bartle Frere in 1871 wrote: 'Anyone who has watched the working of native society will see that its genius is one of representation, not representation by election under Reform Acts, but representation generally by castes and trades and professions, every class being represented. When there is any difficulty, anything to be laid before the government, anything to be discussed among themselves,—a fellow citizen to be punished or to be rewarded—there is always a public meeting of the caste, or the village; and this is an expression, it seems to me, of the germs of the people as unmistakable as that which is arrived at by our Anglo-Saxon method of gathering together in assemblies of different kinds to vote by tribes or by hundreds or by shires."[2] Sir Henry Maine and Chisholm Anstey and a host of European scholars in the Nineteenth Century recognised the fact that democratic institutions are essentially Aryan and the village republics are the most stable institutions of India. Though very much attenuated in scope and administration, the democratic spirit still exists within the caste of the village, each caste forming within itself a thorough democracy in which social rank depends not so much

1 *Sir Henry Maine's Village Communities, Lecture 1. P. 13 P. 122.*

2 Sir Bartle Frere: 'The Means of Ascertaining Public opinion in India,' Society of Arts, June 9, 1871.

on wealth as on learning and occupations. In spite of all the migrations and new experiences consequent on modern industrial organisation, it may be said that there is still a strong survival of the inheritance of the past and the sense of belonging to a definite locality. It has been said that village communities have disintegrated under British administration and that village autonomy has disappeared because of the establishment of local civil and criminal courts, revenue and police organisation, increase of communications, growth of individual ryotwari system. Allusion will be made to this later.

The intellectual progress of a people has always a tendency to act upon their religion, whilst religion in its turn influences progress.[1] It is extremely difficult to ascertain the extent of that influence, for often the protective spirit either of a government or of an influential class as that of the brahmins in the hindu community neutralises and restricts the influence of intellectual progress. As the brahmins in the hindu society monopolised all knowledge and thus made enlightenment which knowledge always brings with it their sole heritage, a higher form of religion could not

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[1] 'Looking at things upon a large scale, the religion of mankind is the *effect* of their improvement, not the cause of it.' Buckle : History of Civilisation, Vol. I, Ch. V.

'If I were asked' says Max Muller 'under what sky the human mind has most fully developed some of its choicest gifts, has most deeply pondered on the greatest problems of life, I should point to India.' 'India, What can it teach us' 1862, p. 14.

make proper progress among the lower orders who were not intellectually prepared for it. The highest caste was pantheistic, while the other castes were idolatrous.

The physical features of a country too have some causal connection with its progress and the reason why the most advanced nations of the world to-day were not civilised till a relatively late period in the history of man is to be found in the adverse nature of their physical environment. The struggle with the natural forces has developed combativeness, energy, perseverance and resoluteness in the European, while the bounty of nature and of the physical environment have favoured the development of peacefulness and quietism in the hindu. The virtues and vices of the hindu are the product of his imagination and thoughtfulness and his devotion to spiritual culture and problem of existence. He is passive, sober, moderate, a model of patience and peacefulness; and he has all the gentler qualities engendered by a spiritual and quietist disposition, such as charity, hospitality, sobriety, benevolence, forgiveness and mercy. The brahmin and other intellectual classes have seldom taken part in warfare.

The tendency of the doctrine of Karma has been to promote contentment and resignation. The Hindu believes that the soul is an everlasting force, an eternal substance that can be susceptible neither of decrease nor increase, but only of transformation. The world is never filled with either living beings or with dead things, because these are not two different things, but

only two manifestations of the same entity alternately passing from birth to death. The soul of the dead transmigrates from the old body into the new one under the control of Karma, as a caterpillar having reached the border of a leaf seizes the border of another leaf and transfers itself thereto. What survives death are the effects of the good and bad actions, man performed in his life-time and which are to determine his new birth. The hindu thus bears suffering with patience and equanimity; he is reconciled to his fate because he has brought himself to believe in its justice. He attributes his evil fortune to evil deeds done in a former life and good fortune to good works done in a previous life. For this reason he is not jealous of the prosperity of his neighbours whose share in the good things of the world is the fruit of his labours in the past.[1]

Whatever may be the religious belief of the Hindu his attitude towards other religions is one of philosophic toleration. Hinduism has never been guided by the protective spirit, and it has never been wedded to dogmatic views about man and nature which make any departure therefrom punishable heresy. Every form of faith from monotheism and pantheism to idolatry and fetishism is comprised within hinduism and antagonistic creeds have existed from the earliest times without giving rise to persecution. The Hindu bears the ills of life with fortitude and equanimity, because of the sway of religion over him even in matters which should not be governed by religion at all; he scarcely recognises any

[1] Elphinstone: History of India, 1874. p. 266.

heroes but those of religion and amongst them he dispenses with caste qualifications. The fact that men of special sanctity are raised to the rank of incarnations not only by the ignorant and the credulous masses, but also by the educated classes is an eloquent testimony to the influence which religion exercises over the hindu. The spiritual temperament and his devotion to religion make him indifferent to allurements of material civilisation, and in spite of long contact with the English for over a century and a half, he has only reacted in favour of a rationalistic religion rather than in favour of a new social order or reorganisation based on conformity to the Western model.[1]

In the history of the Hindu, one can see that wealth has not attracted him. James Routledge says "that while wealth nearly always is the chief means of distinguishing man from man in England it has no such exclusive power in India. The devotee is honoured for his presumed piety, for his devotion to his Creator. He has subdued the flesh with its affections and lust, has brought the body into subjection to the spirit, has risen above time and lives in eternity."[2] So long as religion was not encroached upon, the mass of the hindus did not much care who governed them. Besides, as the caste system divided them, there was no public spirit or organised resistance to the invaders except by the ruling castes. The ruling caste was patriotic more for

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[1] H. A. Wilson: Essays and Lectures on the Religion of the Hindus. 1862, Vol. II. p. 82.

[2] James Routledge: English Rule and Native opinion in India 1878. p. 275.

the honour of their race than from a love of their countrymen; they put forth the most determined opposition against those Muslim rulers who interfered with their religion, and against the British in 1857, when they imagined that their religion was in danger. The secret of success of English rule in India did not lie as much in its military strength, for any shrewd observer would realise in the last century how dependent English troops were on natives for transport, supply, and all the wants of foreigners, and for their whole-hearted co-operation for the maintenance of their rule; it did not lie in the benefits, it is supposed to have conferred either, though there is a heartfelt appreciation of western arts, law, order and ethics. Laws framed on western ideas made but a feeble impression, and an unwilling acquiescence without a hearty absorption of principles could not furnish the cement to bind alien ideas into a coherent or effective public opinion. In view of the enormous number of the indians in the vast peninsula and in its dependencies the British could not have stemmed the tide if even a small minority of the Hindus or Muslims wished it away. The rationale of the situation is that just as Europeans sometimes carry their combativeness to a fault, so the hindus sometimes carry their peacefulness and forgiveness to a fault; they will yield when they should not, and often tamely and patiently suffer wrongs which others will lose no time to resent. The peaceful disposition fostered by a spiritual civilisation, general indifference to anything which is not connected with religion and the rigidity of a caste system, accordingly hindered the formulation of a harmonious and united public opinion on matters of state and policy.

The absence of protective spirit in religious and intellectual matters has been favourable for the solidarity of Hindu social structure. Wilson says: 'Contrarities of belief and diversities of religion are in fact part of the Hindu scheme, for as a painter gives beauty to a picture by a variety of colours or a gardener embellishes his garden with flowers of every hue, so God appointed to every tribe its own faith, that man might glorify Him in diverse modes all having the same end, and being equally acceptable in His sight."[1]

One of the important causes of the stability of Hinduism is this toleration which implies adaptability to its environment. But Hinduism has been as intolerant of social heresy as it has been tolerant of intelleetual or religious heresy. While social freedom and religious conformity are the characteristics of the European, social rigidity and spiritual freedom characterise the Hindu.

Hindu society is organised on the basis of castes. The classification of society into four *varnas* or orders, was of universal applicability and has been in existence for over two and a half thousand years, and this fact is proved by numerous references in the Upanishads as well as in the Puranas and Dharmasastras.[2] The varna of the individual was determined on the basis of the balance of qualities and actions which were natural to him. As qualities of character were the *raison d' etre*

[1] H. H. Wilson: Essays and lectures on the Religion of the Hindus. 1862. Vol. II. p. 82.

[2] Manu Samhita: III. 151. VIII. 1 and 2.

of caste, man could change his varna by overcoming infirmities of character and by rising by personal effort to higher varnas. It was in the time of Mahabharata, roughly about 700 B.C., that birth came to be recognised as the sole determinant of one's varna although the earlier tradition of its mutability still lingered at the time. The later history of India shows that Hindu society has incorporated tribe after tribe to fix a status for those tribes in the social scale in accordance with the nature of the predominant occupation as determined by Brahminical law-makers.[1] By fresh accessions of various Hinduised aborginal or non-Aryan tribes, by the gradual confusion of the lower orders of society with the higher, by the disintegration of the Kshatriya and Vaishya castes, a large number of functional and composite castes differentiated from the original castes came into existence. The characteristic feature of the caste system was that while the higher classes could take to the occupations of the lower classes, the lower were forbidden to take to the pursuits of the higher. The natural feeling of antipathy towards the subjugated tribes led to division and subdivision of varnas as well as it prevented a successful fusion of various functional and mixed castes or Jatis within one varna. Thus sprang up an infinity of castes, rules and regulations chiefly local, some universal, but mainly some thing more than merely conventional or customary.[2] The principle

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[1] A. C. Das: Rigvedic Culture, 1925. p. 132.

[2] Manu, the Law-giver, and the highest authority on caste describes in his *Samhita* fifty seven mixed castes, which are ethnic or functional in origin. X. 8. 48-49.

of imitation must have had some influence on the formation of these castes. The minor castes increased in number and their professions also radically changed.

This feeling of separatism from the main varnas had serious effects upon the social and ceremonial life of the people in course of time. It led to marriage restrictions; the custom of intermarriages fell into disrepute and Jatis became more and more endogamous in character. Endogamy and ceremonial puritanism were brought out by the sexual aversion of one caste to other castes or culture-groups, with different modes of thinking and food habits, and partly by the settlement of the mixed castes into fixed habits of life. Even in our modern highly integrated society, a type of heterogeneity exists, and this is seen in the segregation of classes occasioned by the Industrial Revolution, and the division of society into capitalist, middle and working classes, with great differences between them in outlook and manner of living. The Hindu society was completely heterogenous in character, and it illustrated the principle that likes tend to associate with likes and the principle of grouping on the basis of consciousness of kind. Each of the many castes and subcastes was constituted on the basis of likemindedness with reference to some particular traits. Each group pursued separate and distinct ends, and collective efforts expressed through caste organisation depended upon the likemindedness of groups. The peculiar achievement of Hindu civilisation consisted in the establishment of a stable social organisation together with the maintenance of heterogeneity of structure.

There were more than fifty mixed castes in the country during the 19th century—a reunification of the four principle castes, Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Sudra. The Census of 1891 shows for Bengal alone four sub-castes among the Vaishyas and thirty-three principle Jatis among the Sudras. From this it is clear that the caste system of India was partly ethnic and partly of functional origin and it was not unusual in towns and villages of India to find certain trades and professions being pursued by particular families for many generations together, unhampered by competition by others—a phenomenon which is an inevitable sequel of limited competition and limited demand. Similarly, members of one and the same caste were found engaged in the most divergent occupations as a section of the priestly caste was often found serving as cooks, guards, and as accountants to lower caste people.

Occupations were not strictly hereditary either, in Vedic or Buddhist times.[1] Later each of the tribes, Hinduised and absorbed in the all-comprehensive and plastic folds of society, developed a particular occupation according to the needs of the locality in which the tribesmen resided. All the occupations were arranged in such a manner as to rule out the possibility of competition in industry as well as to develop a feeling of mutual dependence among the different castes at the same time. Every Jati thus enjoyed the monopoly of a particular occupation over a given area, and it is common knowledge that in comparatively non-industrial societies where division of labour has not been carried on to

[1] Dr. Buhler: Sacred Books of the East. Vol. XXV. p. 412.

any considerable extent, occupations and professions have a natural tendency to become hereditary.

Different groups were brought together within the Hindu society, and each group was allowed the freedom to live its own life and develop itself. The only real restriction was that no one group should interfere with the autonomy of the other groups. Within each group there was equality of opportunity and the members of the group always consulted elders whenever important matters were before them. Each group was a world of its own with its own peculiar mental climate. There was a strong sense of solidarity within each of the groups so that every member, young and old, could depend on support in times of social or economic difficulty. Each caste or group laid down its own rules of conduct which were binding on the members of the group. Self-regulating powers were inherent in group life and the individual was never severed from this background which completely coloured his existence. There were no *norms* or codes in the abstract except those promulgated by the castes and these were the codes of the long established professions of the castes. There was no loyalty in the abstract but loyalty to the professional groups. The groups were all functional and the functions of each group were related to the functions of other groups so that by the efficient performance of each function, the whole system would work harmoniously.

Hindu society like every other society consisted of different strata, one for the learned profession, another for the army, others for the arts and crafts, and such a

classification exists in a fluid state in all nations. On the other hand, the object of the standardised and labelled divisions of society in India was to conserve natural instincts of each community and to develop them by specialisation. The social organisation did not prevent the members of one community from taking up the duties of another group, through special merit and fitness for work. The Indian caste system took into account only the normal and average standards of human nature and qualities for classification.

The individual in such a social organisation is one who obeys norms and follows codes; he is always correlated with the caste centres from which codes and their social evaluations emanate. His personality is developed through the correlation of his self with the Jati to which he is attached. Out of the caste or group environment, his personality emerges as a unique entity with a core and fate of its own, unaffected by time and circumstances. The impact of the caste upon the thought, emotions and actions of the individual is very great, and the caste shapes and orders his conduct, and the individual changes unconsciously with the change in the configuration of the Jati, and the alteration of its field of action, and sees the value of his own contribution in group achievement. The individual is elevated in his social consciousness, he shares in a new purpose and establishes his self-esteem. But in such an organisation, collective enthusiasm in the interest of the whole society would not be much in evidence. Caste organisation was thus a planned framework within which there was scope for spontaneous

adjustment and for the enlargement of individual responsibility through a share in social responsibility.

The varna system in a sense stood on a par with national synthesis. Over and above all groups and Jatis there was a common bond which held them together, and that was a sense of common culture, common traditions and common land consecrated by worship. Holy places of pilgrimage, likewise common affinities, historical associations, feeling of common danger, all created a sense of national solidarity which was at the root of Indian nationalism. The synthesis of varna was predominantly economic in character, and whatever ritual or cultural commonness was involved in the concept of varna it was always one of secondary importance.

While the idea-elements are the vital ones in the concept of European nationalism, they are not so in the varna system and the autonomy of religious beliefs and practices is actually fostered rather than suppressed. Similarly, a vague sense of general cultural consanguinity is brought about by the superimposition of a uniform but loose ceremonial life common to all the Jatis. The territory covered by a nation may vary within wide geographical limits; that of the varna system is confined to the agricultural village or groups of villages where a sort of economic interdependence and self-sufficiency can be roughly established between the Jatis living within it. A nation grows by the inclusion of new territories, and tribes within its frontiers. As the varna system is based on services and functions, it includes life at all levels, and it grows

by the multiplication of such self-sufficient local economic units as the villages. Nationalism grows from a sense of fear, by industry, and organisation for self-defence; the varna system is essentially an organisation for peace.

The third important factor of Hindu social structure was the Joint-Family system. The joint family from a very remote period has been the unit of the Hindu social system. Its basis was a religious one so far as ancestor-worship constituted its chief feature. Its limits were defined by the right to perform the obsequies of the dead. The family included all who offered, received or partook of the funeral cake or *Pinda*, all such being in consequence called *Sapinda* to each other. A Hindu offered *pinda* to his father, grand-father and great-grand-father, and expected the same from his successors; and all those comprising seven degrees were *sapindas* and constituted the innermost family circle. Three generations in ascent and descent beyond the *Sapindas* were *Sakulyas*; outside and beyond them again were *Samanodakas*—Kinsmen connected by libation of water. The head of the family '*Karta*' had no special rights as the Pater-familias, nor did he exercise Potestas or despotic authority of the Roman father. Though the underlying principle of family solidarity was based on the tie of consanguinity, the institution existed all through its history as a religious and social institution rather than as an ethnic one.

All the agnatic relations with their wives and family lived under the same roof. There was no legal

obligation on any one member of the joint family to serve the family, whether for personal benefit or for family benefit, and by dereliction of obligations he did not incur any responsibility either. Justice Markley says 'A member of the joint family had only a right to demand that a share of the existing family property should be separated and given to him, and so long as the family union remained unmodified the enjoyment of the family property was in the strictest sense common.'[1] 'The Sastras' says Cowell, 'by no means placed the family under the despotic power of the chief Karta.' He did not possess his family and his property. His obligations outweighed his authority to protect the weak, the incapable and the infirm from starvation; the acts of each member bound the corporation, and every member of it was liable since responsibility pervaded the whole family. The obligation to provide for the maintenance of the joint family was the foundation of the father's authority over the joint estate.[2]

While a highly industrialised civilisation has fostered a keen sense of self-interest, the tendency of a non-industrial civilisation like that of the Hindus was to subdue self-interest, by placing the individual in a joint family, and by educating him to subordinate personal interest to higher principles of service. The fact of growing up in a large family tempered the *ego* in the individual and fostered his altruism for the benefit of the family welfare. Thus, as in the case of the village and

[1] Calcutta Review. Vol. LII. 1871. 255.256.

[2] Calcutta Review: Vol. III. p. 285.

and the caste, even in the joint family, the emphasis was on the group and not on the individual member of the family.

It is a remarkable fact that while the social tendency was to subordinate the individual to the group, the religious tendency always emphasised the importance of the release of the individual from the fetters of authority. *Mukti* or salvation was not denied to any member of any caste, though modes of approach were commensurate with one's ability to attain it. The history of the evolution of religious ideas of the Hindu, reveals the action and interaction between the two forces of liberty and authority : the caste with its manifold duties and responsibilities and sanctions trying to restrain the individual, and the individual in turn by self-effort trying to break away from such fetters in order to fulfil himself.

Hindu society was a non-competitive and non-acquisitive society. It was a system of organised inequality, but of inequality so adjusted as not to press very severely upon the classes affected by it. Each group was assigned a well defined position The Brahmins did not seek material prosperity for themselves and were not averse to material progress of the community. Accordingly, the control of government, trade and every occupation calculated to promote material interests were left to the lower castes. Competition was artificially limited and was secured within a well-defined body and this restricted the range of favourable variations in intellectual development which was thus placed beyond the action of the law of natural selection.

The village community, the caste and the joint family were the foundations of the Hindu social structure, and they all emphasised the group and not the individual, because the chief objective of each one of these factors was to secure social security, stability and the continuance uninterruptedly of the life of the group. There was a communal life in each group, and a sense of equality and resolution of difficulties by mutual consultation and discussion. Behind these three units of the social structure lay a broad comprehensive ideal which turned the mind of man to the Infinite and the practice of all virtue, by subduing lust, greed and acquisitiveness. The emphasis in the scheme was on duties and not on rights, and the life of the individual was one of continuous service in ever-widening circles to the family, to the group, to the community and to the wider humanity.



CHAPTER II.

EUROPEAN IDEAS AND THE RISE OF THE MIDDLE CLASSES.

A brief history has been given of the condition of the Indian social organisation as it was in the beginning of the nine-teenth century. Then, for the first time, the impact of British rule and western ideas came to be felt by the society in all the stages of its hierarchy. Lord Meston says 'In a sense the metaphor of an impact is inappropriate to India. There has been nothing or very little of a clash between her ancient culture and the alien culture imposed from the west; no violent conflict of ideas or of methods; no forcible replacement of one social system by another; the more fitting metaphor would be that of a stream of new thought and practice flowing into the sea of India's traditions and life.[1] The English influence on Indian life and thought has been profound, comparable only to the ancient Aryan stimulus, in its intensity and in its all pervasive character. The modernisation of India is the work of the English who established their rule in India in the middle of the sixteenth century. The life and vigour of society had gone, and the country was at the lowest point of moral decay and political weakness at the time of the British advent into India. The old order was dying when the English conquest began, and the period from Lord Cornwallis to Bentinck may be regarded as the hastening of the decay of the old order and the preparation of the ground for

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[1] O. Mailley: India and the West. Foreword p. L.

the birth of the new order. It was the "seed time of New India."

Both the French and the English since their settlement in India had made their contribution to the life and organisation of society. Military organisation was improved, and the French Revolution had its repurcussions in India and for a time led to the revival of French political influence. Soldiers of fortune like Raymond and Deboigne exercised great personal influence among the ruling ..fahratta princes. Bishop Heber speaks of the great popularity of the French and their freedom from that exclusive spirit which made the English a caste by themselves.[1] But the nature of interference by the East India Company which now assumed the role of an administrator was cautious and dictated by the demands of expediency and orderly and stable administration.

The Social and Political Ideas of the British.

The social ideas of the British constituted the first and the most important element in the body of principles which were to regulate the right of interference in the affairs of society. Infanticide and Sati had been tolerated by the castes though there was no religious sanction for these practices. 'Although Hindu religion' says Todd 'nowhere authorises this barbarity, the laws which regulate marriage among the Rajputs powerfully promote infanticide.[2]

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[1] Heber: Narrative of a journey through the Upper Provinces of India. Vol. II p. 11.22.

[2] Todd: Annals of Rajasthan 1880. I. p. 547. Census of India. I. 425.

The Bengal Regulation Act XI of 1795, and the Regulation Acts III and IV of 1802 and 1804 declared child sacrifice to be murder. Sumptuary edicts alone could not control this practice, for there was the difficulty of bringing such practices to light without espionage and encroachment on domestic privacy.[1] Sati too, was never an universal custom in any caste, and even where it was practised it was seldom voluntary, for few women would think of sacrificing themselves unless overpowered by force or persuasion. The sacrifice was more designed to secure the temporal welfare of the survivors than the spiritual welfare of the widow, for there was no need to maintain her while the male relatives could get her property. Many humane princes had endeavoured to mitigate this evil but eradication was not possible without the co-operation of the community. The Company's government was not at first decided whether it was to dissuade or adopt coercive measures in the treatment of the problem, with the result its policy turned out to be one of mingled abolition and compromise rooted in a lively faith in the regenerating influence of widening knowledge. The prevailing conviction was, that a continuance of tranquillity and order would cause the discontinuance of practices repugnant to natural instincts. The strenuous and unwearied exertions of such men as Wilkinson, Willoughby, Erskine, Jacob, Poltinger, Melville and Courtenay Smith, led ultimately to the prohibition of the practices *in toto* by an absolute and peremptory law.[2] Bentinck in enacting the abolition of

[1] Todd: Annals of Rajasthan 1880, I. p. 547. Census of India, 1901. I. 425.

[2] Calcutta Review. 1844. I. p. 435.

Sati said "I feel a legislator for the Hindu; descending from these higher considerations, it cannot be a dishonest ambition to wash out a foul stain on British rule, to stay a sacrifice of humanity and justice to a doubtful expediency."[1]

Again, during this time attention was given to the claims of religious minorities. In 1832 relief was afforded to Christian converts, in that change of religion did not mean consequent loss of property. Dalhousie in 1850 passed an Act rescinding all laws and usages which inflicted upon any person forfeiture of rights and property by reason of renunciation of or exclusion from the communion of any religion. Pilgrim-tax was abolished and the practice of employing government servants in the collection, management or custody of religious funds was discontinued.[2]

Economic Changes, Peasant Proprietorships.

The economic changes brought about by British administration were far from being negligible. The Permanent Settlement of Cornwallis had introduced an English form of landed property and had created a class of land-lords which were hitherto unknown in India. It is said that the conviction of Cornwallis was that state-ownership was detrimental to public interest while the development of the resources of the country depended on individual enterprise. His land-revenue policy did foster a sense of the right of property and determine the relationship between tenant and land-lord tending

[1] Cambridge History of India. Vol. V.

[2] Parliamentary Papers. 1841. XVII. 741.51.

to an assertion of the rights and liberties of the individual. A body of peasant proprietory was created in Bengal, Bihar and Madras, and the rights of the cultivators to transfer the holdings by gift, sale or mortgage was recognised. Land rights of this kind were not previously recognised, for the cultivators all through the ages, were regarded as owners of their crops but not of the soil. It is contended that all these measures were undertaken with a view to extend cultivation; but extension was checked in some parts by excessive assessment of revenue and the malpractices of lowpaid agents of government.

Side by side with this economic change whose far reaching repercussions were not envisaged at that time, another important change that was brought about was the abolition of slavery, and this legislation was undertaken in response to the humanitarian principles permeating English social thought at that time. Predial slavery or serfdom was in existence in Bengal, Madras, Assam and in the south of Bombay. The institution of slavery was universal, but the reason for this widespread prevalence is obscure. It was a long established institution and Muhammadan law had recognised it.[1] But slaves were treated as children of the families to which they belonged. The treatment of domestic slaves and agricultural slaves varied in different parts of the country. British legislation as regards serfdom, as any other, was well-considered, gradual, and slow, as well as, economical to the extent emancipation of slaves was to be

[1] Moreland: India at the death of Akbar, p. 91.

effected eventually without any cost to the state finances. The practice of kidnapping children and selling them in the open market was controlled by a Regulation Act of 1774. The traffic was put an end to by a Proclamation in 1789 that all persons concerned in the traffic would be prosecuted. In 1811 importation from outside was prohibited.[1] Purchase and sale of slaves taken from one district to another was made a penal offence in 1832. The Charter Act of 1833 required the Governor-General in-Council to take steps for extinguishing slavery as soon as emancipation could be safe and practicable. The India Act V of 1843 deprived the institution of its legal status by providing that the Civil Courts could not take cognisance of claims to slaves. All trade in and possession of slaves were made a penal offence by the Penal Act of 1860. Slaves were given the right to own property and obtain legal redress for injuries. Emancipation of a large section of the population was thus effected without any popular demand for it and also without any opposition or outcry from those affected by the law, even though they lost a valuable form of property. Social stigma and responsibility to maintain a slave at a time when the country was poor and famine-stricken might have been the reasons for the tacit acceptance of the change.

Equality before the Law.

Another great change was the establishment of the principle of equality before the law which affected all castes and classes. English education was not yet

[1] Parliamentary papers. IX. 1331-32.

widely diffused and was mainly an urban growth. The Era of material improvement and industrial expansion had not yet begun. Dodwell remarks 'the force of change had been enough to alarm, but not enough to influence.[1] The greatest gift of the British was universal peace or freedom from foreign invasion and internal disorder. How valuable peace was for national growth in the 19th century can be best understood by contrast with the Indian's life in the 18th century. The frequent contests for the throne, the fanaticism and the cruel propensities of the sovereign, the great disorder in the general management of the affairs of the state, the want of uniform and just laws, the insecurity of life and property, the oppression, tyranny and cruelty of the officers of government, the lack of education, enlightenment, commerce and enterprise—all these had aided to bring the condition of the people generally to the lowest depths of wretchedness. India was in the agonies of dissolution. 'There was a high maxim of state' says H. M. Parker 'that the zamindar was a sponge to lick up and absorb as much as he would draw from the ryot, and that when he was in a fit state to be squeezed he was to be wrung out accordingly for the benefit of the Sultan. As for the ryot, he was plundered by all and sundry, with the addition of Thugs strangling him on the road, dacoits at home filling his eyes with pepper, Maharattas collecting Choutn, and Arab mercenaries carrying off his daughters. He was a sort of human midge—a prey alike to birds, fishes and spiders. If he

[1] Dodwell: A sketch of the History of India from 1858 to 1918. p. 4.

escaped from the ever craving maws of the more violent, he was sure to fall a prey into the nets of the more cunning."[1] As a result of the contact with the British, not only peace was established but there was development of intellectual life, the modification of the economic system and the reorientation of thought towards religious and social questions. The English restored the contact with the outer world, and the telegraphs, railway and newspapers completed the suction of India into the whirlpool of world movements of every kind. A uniform administrative system was established which tended to fuse the various races and creeds of India into one homogeneous people and to bring about social equality and community of life and thought which were to be the basis of Indian nationality.

New Conception of Law.

The century was a period of pacification, and peace was the necessary condition precedent of law and order, as an armed state of society is inimical to the restraints of law and runs counter to the principles of civilised government. The establishment of courts of justice went on *paripassu* with the establishment of peace and order, and rules and regulations were made to adapt them to the manners and understanding of the people, and to adhere as closely as possible to their ancient usages and institutions. The village courts of justice (Panchayats) which were already in a state of incipient disintegration due to insecurity and war. were set aside, and courts with English rules of jurisprudence were established.

[1] H. M. Parker. Empire of the Middle Classes 1858. India office Tract Vol. 188. p. 21.

The results of the new judicial system were the establishment of the principle of equality and the creation of a consciousness of positive rights. Then, few could understand the rules and forms which denied the advantage of birth and claims of rank,[1] and it was a long time before the lower orders, including the emancipated slaves, could take advantage of the system of equal laws and vindicate their rights by legal action. It has been said that the establishment of the Rule of Law was a sociological phenomenon of the first importance and the effect of English law was to revolutionise Indian society more thoroughly than education, arts and science and political thought of Europe have done. But the process has been slow and gradual, and the difficulty of language, the costliness and dilatoriness of procedure, the social and economic consequences of legal action by the lower castes against the higher, have precluded the effective operation of this levelling process.

New Conception of National Efficiency.

One of the principles that actuated British administration in India was in the words of William Bentinck 'to found British greatness on Indian happiness.' It was the maintenance of the Status Quo in India,—a land with well-established social and legal institutions,—without the sacrifice of the moral and political principles of the British people and without injury to their convictions of what was right. Westernisation of the administration without causing dislocation, was the aim; and the government while discharging its respon-

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[1] J. S. Cotton: Mount-Stewart Elphinstone. 1892. p. 133-4.

sibility as the guardian of civil rights was required as far as possible to maintain Indian institutions. British rule set in motion an highly organised and efficient system of government based on the principle of the Reign of Law and administered by men who combined in themselves some of the highest qualities of public service as well as statesmanship. The strength of the administration lay in the honesty and efficiency of officers, in their perseverance and activity, in their long thought plans and cesseless exertion to purify the administration handed down from the past. Both the system of administration and the personnel who worked it, could not but profoundly impress the mind of India. They gave to the people a new conception of national efficiency.

The wave of liberalism which passed through Europe in the first quarter of the Nineteenth century affected India too, and since 1832 the British administrators came to be pervaded with the spirit of the modern age; and the theoretical recognition in that year of the principle of the organisation of government for the benefit of India, was a testimony to the liberal spirit of the age. It was this spirit that kept the bureaucracy from sinking into unmitigated absolutism. In 1833 a Statute was passed which provided that no native of India, nor any natural-born subject of His Majesty resident therein shall by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour or any other, be disabled from holding any place, office or employment under the said government.[1] Racial discrimination in appointment to

[1] A. B. Keith: Speeches and Documents on Indian Policy 1750.1921. Vol. I. p. 66.

office was condemned, and capacity and not race was made the criterion of eligibility for administrative offices.[1] This declaration which was inspired by humanitarian ideas and derived largely from the Evangelical movement in England, was a remarkable advance in the conception of the relations between East and West.

In spite of this liberalising tendency, the general trend of administration on the whole was conservative. Continuity with the past was preserved and indigenous institutions were maintained, as illustrated in Elphinstone's instruction to his officers 'Maintain the native system above all, make no innovations.'[2] The policy of James Thomason was 'support old institutions and do not distract the people by attempting a new one.'[3] The desire to preserve continuity with the past and to make no revolutionary changes was also apparent in religious policy. The reluctance to interfere with the old established institutions was due to the fact that the government was dominated by the *laissez faire* doctrine which laid down that the promotion of the happiness of the largest number was dependent upon the pursuit of individual interests unhampered by restrictions from government. Accordingly, the motto of the age was self-help and not state-help and the state was not expected to take the initiative in the performance of public functions in regard to education, public health, and economic organisation. It was also regarded as an

[1] Court of Directors' Despatch 10th Dec. 1834.

[2] J. B. Cotton: Mount-Stuart Elphinstone. 1892, p. 136.

[3] W. W. Hunter: James Thomason. 1893. p. 161.

axiomatic truth that the law of supply and demand should be allowed to operate without state interference; and it was this assumption that aggravated the seriousness of the famines that occurred periodically, and the people could not be saved from starvation without adequate means of transport.

Later, however, the government was compelled by force of circumstances and the development of the European situation to abandon its laissez faire policy. The people had no experience of co-operative work outside small areas, and secondly, the people had the habit of mind always to look to government to take the initiative in matters concerning public welfare, and regarded it as improper for private persons to intrude on them unless commanded to do so. There was consequently, an absence of the spirit of public service and the government was constantly forced to undertake work which in western countries was performed by local organisations. Passive acceptance of authority was a confirmed habit of the people and they had been so dragooned that all idea of resistance was lost. So completely were the Hindus depressed by oppressive rule during Muslim domination that they had lost not only the capacity and the desire, but the very idea of self-government in matters coming within the sphere of state action. In the words of Adam 'we have thus a government which desires to rule by law and a people that wills to be ruled by power.[1]

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[1] J. Long: Adam's Report on Vernacular education in Bengal and Bihar. 1868. p. 252.4.

The Press.

The introduction of railways, telegraphs, and unified postage annihilated distances and promoted among the people a common understanding of the new condition of life brought into existence by British rule. But, the foremost force which transformed the mind of India was the introduction of western education and the press. The establishment of printing press in the early nineteenth century led to production of books in Indian languages and the birth of a press literature; and this was a new development in intellectual life, for Indian literature had almost entirely consisted of poetry and metrical compositions mainly religious or theological in character. Press owed its origin to a utilitarian and secular object of providing text books for civil servants and this, later on, turned out to be the vehicle for the expression of original thought. The vernacular press was active after 1830, and for a time, there was a growth of ephemeral publications which relied largely on western political thought translated *verbatim* for the benefit of the people. The press was the Educator of the Indian masses in the first fifty years of its existence and later on it turned out to be the instrument of national politics.[1]

English Education.

A more fundamental force that transformed the outlook of the people was English education. After a fierce battle raged for several years between Orientalists

[1] Sanyal. E. C.: History of the Press in India—Calcutta Review, 1911, p. 17-18.

and Occidentals the government deliberately decided in favour of the latter in 1835. Though the motives in introducing western education was not purely altruistic, the decision itself was bound to produce far-reaching effects upon the evolution of India's destiny. Modern India is the product of western education which had touched every sphere and phase of Indian thought and life. The English gave a common language which has been an aid to the formation and growth of Indian nationality. The country possessed a common culture before, though not a common language. There were wide differences of race, language and religion and antagonisms of tradition and history between the culture of the Hindus and Muhammadans. But so far as the Hindu society was concerned, the sense of territorial unity, of the physical individuality of their country, of their possessing a common motherland endowed with all the marks of a distinct territorial unit had been evolved earlier.

With the introduction of western education all the educated classes irrespective of community, caste or religion became imbued with a common culture which itself in course of time gave rise to common views, feelings of aspiration and ideals which are the essence of nationality. English education with its distinctive character and expression did succeed in impressing upon the Indian mind its peculiar ideas and principles. It not only awakened and developed the spirit of patriotism and nationality, but radically changed some of the fundamental political conceptions of the people. The establishment of British rule and English language was not only a political revolution, but ushered in a greater

revolution in thought and ideas, in religion and society. It removed the moral atmosphere from Europe to Asia. All the great events which had influenced European thought within the last hundred years, told on the formation of the intellect of India through the medium of the English language. The independence of America, the French Revolution, the War of Italian Independence, the teachings of history, the vigour and freedom of literature and English thought, the great effort of the French intellect of the Eighteenth century, Positivism, and Utilitarianism likewise shaped and influenced the mind of India.

English Political Ideals.

Those who learnt the English language soon became familiar with its great political and literary ideals. To know the language was to know the mind and thought of the West, for English literature bears impress and reflection of every great event in English history. Spencer, Bacon and Shakespeare reveal the spirit of daring and adventure, the first peeps of knowledge and enlightenment. Milton represented the national mind struggling for independence and the rights of the free-born. Pope and Addison revealed the national mind as it was growing, refining and gathering strength in their time. Johnson represented the last period of authority and conservatism and the clinging to old institutions because they are old. The poems of Burns, Wordsworth, Shelley and Byron bear impress of the multifarious and tumultous, the crumbling down of old authorities, the violent rush after freedom in religion, politics and society which marked the dawning of a

better era for mankind. The mind of the young Indian of the latter half of the nineteenth century was saturated with the idea and the passions of the immortals of English literature and thought, of Thomas Paine, Edmund Burke, Hume, Macaulay, Mazzini and John Stuart Mill and others.

Thomas Paine, His Ideas.

The educated classes were familiar with Thomas Paine's writings particularly his Agrarian Justice and commerce pamphlets. Thomas Paine (1739-1809) had said that Poverty is a product of civilisation and the result of private property, especially private property in land. He gave a fresh significance and vitality to the theory of natural rights by the assertion of the doctrine of continuous reaffirmation of the social compact. Logically it followed that the people at any time might radically change their government and adopt another that is in conformity with their desire. At the same time it follows also that no constitution or law could be so hallowed by time or sanctified by established right as to overrule the will of a majority of the people. The state must be recognised as an instrumentality of contemporary popular will. The state was made for man, and not men for the state. Furthermore, Paine taught the masses to believe in democracy as the infallible producer of economic justice. Far ahead of general opinion of his time he had stated that independence was the only rational destiny for the revolting colonies.[1]

[1] The Evangelist, Bombay, 1834-48; Indian Review, Calcutta. 1837-47; Literary Society Reprint, 8 Vols. 1877.

'The plain truth is so far as the mother country is concerned, that it is wholly owing to the constitution of the people and not the constitution of the government that the crown is not as oppressive in England as in Turkey.' Some of Paine's utterances which were household words among the educated classes during the third and the fourth decades of the 19th century were culled from his 'The Rights of Man.' 'Man has no property in Man, neither has any generation a property in the generations which are to follow ... All men are born equal and with equal natural rights. Government is governed by no principle whatever that it can make evil good, or good evil just as it pleases ... in short government is arbitrary power.'[1] Paine's political creed was simply that of emancipation for the individual,' not emancipation from society but from government.

Political Teachings of Edmund Burke.

One among other formative political forces was Edmund Burke's political teachings. It may appear paradoxical how the Indian mind could reconcile the conflicting creeds of Paine and Burke, for Paine contended for the rights of the living and against their being willed away and controlled and contracted for by the manuscript authority of the dead; while Burke contended for the authority of the dead over the rights and freedom of the living. The educated classes of the

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[1] Bombay Educational Record, 1 to 30, 1865-90; Indian Statesman and Gazette of Asia 1872-76, Students' Friend, 1882-1890.

last century, as even today, were purely recruited from the highest caste who wanted tó preserve the fundamentals of the old order with only such changes that would ensure them once again the privileged position in society. Consequently, Burke's consecration of the past was a dear conception to the Hindu, conservative as he was. Burke pleaded for the cause of humanity and order and justice, and his twelve years of futile struggle for sanity and liberalism in the treatment of American Colonies, his epic impeachment of Warren Hastings for high crimes endeared him to the educated Indian. Some of his imperishable sayings which men of the latter half of the last century quoted and even of the first decades of the twentieth century repeated are 'Political Society was not a thing instituted by conquest or contract. It was an organic growth with roots reaching back into an indefinite past and tendrils shooting forward. Men are born subject to an established society. They do not consent for its authority and are not free to do so. To postulate such a thing is to postulate anarchy.'[1] 'Born in society men are born with obligations to society.' When men associate together for any purpose, it is quickly found that some are better fitted for leadership than others. Having advantage of birth, wealth, intellect, these constitute a natural aristocracy. The same is true of the state and if the natural aristocracy are not allowed to govern, the state will fall into anarchy. As the foundations on which obedience to governments are

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[1] British Friend of India Journal, 1842-48-84: Calcutta Review, 1843; Elphinstone School Papers 1859-63.

founded are not to be constantly discovered, there are no absolute rights; the only rights men enjoy are rights created, organised and protected by society, and these are possible only by reason of the restraints imposed by society. Freedom is to be found in not weakening the social bond but in strengthening it, not in setting men against the state but in reconciling man to the State. A classless society is a sure instrument of despotism. Government is a contrivance of human wisdom and the act of statecraft is to perceive those ingredients in a society which make for vigour and perpetuity, for stability and order, for justice and morality.[1]

John Stuart Mill and Mazzini.

Among other great political thinkers who shaped the Indian mind were John Stuart Mill and Mazzini. J. S. Mill's Utilitarianism, Liberty and Representative Government were very popular with the educated classes in the sixties and seventies of the nineteenth century and he was the most quoted author in debates and political discussions and conferences. Some of Mill's statements which were popular and which inspired the growing mind of India particularly at the close of the century were: No society in which liberties are not respected is free whatever may be its form of government and none is completely free in which they do exist absolute and unqualified. We can never be sure that the opinion we are endeavouring to stifle is a false opinion, and if we are sure, stifling it would

[1] Literary Society of Madras; Masonic Herald, Bombay 1868-74.

be an evil still; all silencing of discussion is an assumption of infalliability. If the teachers of mankind are to be cognisant of all that they ought to know, everything must be free to be written and published without restraint. J. S. Mill advocated liberty of thought and feeling, absolute freedom of opinion and sentiments on all subjects, practical, speculative, scientific, moral or theological; liberty of expressing and publishing opinions, of tastes and pursuits, and freedom to unite with other persons. Again, in his Representative Government he stated, people should wield sovereign power, but instead of the function of governing, the proper office of the Assembly is to watch and control the government, to throw the light of publicity on its acts, to compel a full exposition and justification of all of them which any one considers questionable, to censure them if found condemnable.[1]

Mazzini the great Italian philosopher and patriot likewise profoundly impressed the imagination of the Indian in political matters. The Hindu of the last century was fascinated by the lofty disinterestedness, and freedom from every personal ambition that characterized Mazzini and Garibaldi. Their message to the world was a life separated from all self-seeking and dedicated to duty, and the Indian saw in Mazzini's life the type of the 'one pure, sacred and efficacious virtue, of sacrifice, the halo that surrounds and sacrifices the soul'. Mazzini was no opportunist, he made no

[1] National Magazine, Calcutta, 1875-79. Records and Proceedings of the Indian National Congress; Madras Times; The Moffussilite, Meerut, 1867-75; Poona Observer, 1876, etc.

appeal to the base in man. 'Great ideas' he said, 'create great peoples; enlarge the horizon of the people; liberate their conscience from the materialism by which it is weighed down; set a vast mission before them; rebaptise them.' Mazzini believed that the people would respond to the most exalted apostalate of ideas, to the preaching of a gospel not of rights but of duties. He said 'the watchword of the 18th century was Right, the watchword that he brought to the people was Duty. Analysis must give place to synthesis, individualism to the idea of humanity.' Right is the faith of the individual; duty is the common collective faith. Right can only organise resistance, destroy, not found; duty builds up and associates, it springs from a general law; Whereas right has its origin only in individual will, the sole origin of every right is in duty fulfilled.'

The effects of this impact on Indian life and thought.

The political thought of the west was a new horizon to the Indian mind which till the last century was not familiar with the conceptions of Representative government, of the Sovereignty of the people, and of Self government. It was so much dominated by those experiences which pre-dispose men to religious and metaphysical speculation that politics had long ago ceased to be a national interest being unable to keep pace *paripassu* with the other great achievements of the mind, that naturally politics became the concern of a few individuals. There was a gradual but steady deterioration of the political spirit during Muhamadan

rule and it was at the lowest ebb at the time of the establishment of British rule. Enlightenment meant now something different. The conception of the sovereignty of the king was to give place to the conception of the sovereignty of the people; autocratic rule was to be condemned, self-government was to be regarded as the basis and spring of all national strength and power, and the principle of the reign of law over arbitrary will was to be established.

Furthermore, for the first time the people learnt the great value of political spirit as an absolutely essential and highly important element in a complete and harmonious natural life. Knowledge of the West implied love of national independence and the sense of the worth of man as man, the right and duty of self-government, personal liberty as the basis of personal character, individual responsibility, and effort and sacrifice in the interests of the motherland.

The Spirit of Self-Criticism

One of the most radical and far reaching effects of western education was the spirit of national and racial self-introspection which it aroused among the people. A study of principles and conditions of social and political progress of Western social and political institutions made the Indian people to realise that their own decadence and degeneracy were largely due to the evils that had crept in the course of time in their social and religious life and institutions. The movement for social and religious reform was the outcome of the spirit of enquiry and self-criticism; and it aimed at promoting unity by the abolition of caste, by the education of and

improvement in the status of women and by the purification of the religious and social life of the people. The emphasis in Western culture on freedom of thought, of speech and of action which produced and encouraged initiative, promoted the discovery of truth and fostered the spirit of enterprise undaunted by difficulties, was a source of inspiration to the educated Indian to cultivate and develop the same triple freedom in relation to political, social and religious life. The liberal and radical thought of the West cast a spell on the Indian mind, and attempts were made, by means of translations into the more important vernacular languages to diffuse the teachings of Burke, Mill, Mazzini, Maine, Macaulay and others whose works could not be read in the original. The vernacular papers grew in number and influence with the result, in the second half of the century the press became a powerful instrument of popular education. Native poetry and art reflected the new spirit. Likewise, Associations were started for elevating the status of the lower orders and for promoting equality and social intercourse among the different castes and for removal of disabilities of women.

Scientific Outlook.

The English brought with them to India a scientific outlook, methods of science and of industry. The nineteenth century was an Era of science and the new secular spirit that permeated society was experimental rather than traditional. Science set up its own criteria of excellence and truth and they were not to be deferred if they ran foul of aged prejudice. The history of scientific achievement is an essential part of the study of

human freedom. The spirit of science is necessarily liberal and undogmatic and the habit of mind nourished by it is a vital element in the culture which is essential to liberty, for it is experimental rather than authoritarian, for it communicates itself by reason rather than by coercion. Because it discourages delusions of infallibility and all external compulsion or regulation over the processes of thinking, it finds with Aristotle that the *free mind* and the *reasonable mind* are the same, an evidence of the progressive temper of the intellectual superiority of the average man. The great liberalising effect of scientific knowledge in India cannot be underestimated, for, the scientific movement by setting free a multitude of secular interests brought into culture a spirit of individualism. Literature, philosophy and industry in India were bound to be less and less content with religious or conservative censorship, and less inclined to await persuasion of the religiously constituted authority.

The new liberalism fostered by science meant a new birth to liberty, for it liberated reason in science and conscience in religion, and aimed at the restoration of culture to the intelligent and the establishment of the principle of political freedom. Science in the nineteenth century was not a rival religion, really taught nothing but merely equipped the individual with an apparatus so that he might learn something for himself. It was a method of inquiry, a habit of mind which holds its conclusions in religious, social or political matters to be hypotheses which it was equally prepared to verify or disapprove. The

impact of the scientific method on the mind of the man of-the-street who is always opinionated and to whom scepticism is sinful, self-criticism an admission of weakness, and suspension of judgment an irksome inhibition,—was profound in its consequences; particularly, when dealing with age-old institutions, sentiments and prejudices.

Till the close of the 18th century, England was not superior in intellectual and material advancement, to India. Statistics show that earthenware, cotton manufactures, finer varieties of linen were largely exported from India. About the middle of the 18th century the export of cotton was £45,000. In the seventeen years ending in 1808-09 on an average about 1·539 million worth of goods were exported from India to England annually. In 1833 the export had dwindled to an insignificant amount. While England was rapidly being modernised, India remained in the old world condition. The causes were not far to seek. India was too far from Europe to feel the quivering impulse of progress which transformed Europe. The social structure of the Hindus was too rigid to admit of a ready reception of an invigourating new impulse; the country was subject to various civil wars and oppressions of native rulers and there was appalling uncertainty of life and of property.[1] The Hindu did not develop initiative, because of nature's catastrophies and man's devastations. There was no accumulation of capital, in spite of security established by the government, and that was so, because India was not throughout her evolution organised for

[1] Lyall: Asiatic Studies.

the production of wealth.[1] The very security led to a rapid increase of population, and also to an increase in the standard of general economic well-being; but the removal of checks to population had tended to prevent a marked rise in prosperity.[2] The caste system and a static economic condition had long restricted industrial occupations to low illiterate castes, and the higher classes had looked down upon such occupations, for since early antiquity such respectable professions as medicine, carpentry, smithy and arts were classed along with theft and adultery.[3]

Because of this divergence in point of view between the several sections of the community, quick adaptation to a rapidly developing Industrial revolution was not feasible. Besides, the depressed classes were constantly losers in any commercial transaction, and social ostracism of this section of the community by the other castes throughout the ages, naturally constituted a most serious obstacle to manliness, independence and capacity for self-help. As there was a certain degradation attached to industrial work, and the higher classes always held on to land, and labourers were migratory with an irresistible impulse to return to the land, industrial development was impeded and poverty became constant, only to be aggravated by unchanging

[1] Moral and Material progress, 1912, p. 198.

[2] Lytton Strachey: Results of Indian Administration in the past fifty years. p 26.

[3] Manu: IV 84, 210-216.

Moral and Material Progress, 1923, p 222.

customary standards of life and pressure of population constantly on the margin of resources.

The natural causes for this slow process of industrialisation have been stated, but it cannot be gainsaid that the economic policy of the East India Company which suddenly found itself in charge of a Dominion aggravated this condition by an insidious policy and reduced the potential of the Indian masses to benefit by industrialisation. With the coming in of the East India Company, both political and economic power were concentrated in its hands; and India which, in the words of Dr. Anstey was "a match in methods of industrial production and commercial organisation to any other country in the world till the close of the eighteenth century' saw its economy being rapidly dissolved by British vested interests and economic power.

There was no strong middle class in the beginning of the nineteenth century as in England endowed with vitality and energy characteristic of a growing and progressive society, to resist this new development. The progress of the natural sciences had effected a revolution in industrial methods which militated against manual labour and thus paralysed the economic basis of Hindu social structure. With the development of industrial techniques and the rise of a new class of industrial capitalists, the economic institutions of the old order were in conflict with the new. The self-sufficient village community with its traditional division of labour could not hold out any longer. The balance between agriculture and industry which

was characteristic of the primitive economy was upset. The absence of a protective tariff of any sort not only contributed to the ruin of indigenous industries but also placed serious difficulties in the way of their revival. The extinction of indigenous industries ruined the artisan classes who once formed large flourishing communities. They were now to earn their subsistence as agriculturists or labourers. Railways also contributed to some extent to the extinction of such indigenous industries as textiles, metalware, paper and other small-scale ones, by carrying European ware cheaply into the interior. The death of these indigenous industries was hastened by associating political power with the Company which was economically supreme in the country. A new conception of ownership of land that was introduced under Cornwallis broke the communal life and the corporate character of the village community. The new technique and machinery associated with modern capitalism was not introduced into India and as there was no substitute to fill the void created by the break in the old economic order, unemployment and poverty followed. There was influx of labour on land and the country became progressively ruralised. This compulsory back-to-the-land-movement of artisans and craftsmen led to the ever growing disproportion between agriculture and industry. India came under an industrial capitalistic regime, but her economy was largely that of the pre-capitalistic period.[1]

[1] Amrita Bazar Patrika, Calcutta Review, 1870-75. National Indian Association Proceedings 1875.

Landlordism

The introduction of land-lordism meant a radical change in the village economy and an interference with Hindu jurisprudence which regarded the group and not the individual as the unit of society and favoured distribution of the produce of the land between the different social orders in strict accordance with an impersonal authority like Dharma Sastra and not that of the King. The British doctrine of ownership was entirely novel to the Indian juristic system, which was based on the doctrine of service and caste culture.[1] Landlordism was individualism, the antithesis of the Hindu scheme which was collectivism of a type. Animated by a desire to consolidate rule, to secure revenue and to develop markets, the government resorted to a novel procedure of selecting a class from the different castes for this purpose. Land was transferred from the juristic ownership of the village community to the absolute proprietorship of the individual members of the village. The doctrine of private property was substituted for communal property and the distribution of the produce of the land was effected on a personal rather than on a communal basis.

The interests of the community and the village which had all along carried on a co-operative system of service and functions were sacrificed for the personal considerations of the land-lord who now acted only as the agent of the government and not as a trustee of the people. The notion of personal property and capitalism with its corollary,-the monied class,-was intro-

[1] B. K. Malik: The Individual and the Group, 1939, p 28.

duced in the place of public and private and family property and corporate existence, with the result all corporate virtues ceased to function, and an atmosphere of enlightened self-interest with a narrow engrossment on self advancement even to the detriment of communal welfare, with all its attendant evils born of suspicion and mutual jealousies and rivalries, was introduced. The supremacy of the moneyed class in society brought about slowly, a disintegration of Hindu life and culture which had been based on non-economic and spiritual values and on the leadership of a selfless intellectual aristocracy.

The influence of Capitalism and Mobile Capital.

With the Industrial Revolution, the impact of Western industrialism and the flow of capital to India, Indian economy was transformed ; for, the economic and thus the social emphasis moved from the village to the town. The individual was hitherto dependent upon the group, and the interchange of services in the group linked him closely to the village community till the introduction of capitalism. Now, money made the individual independent ; unlike the soil which so far was the centre of gravity, money gave mobility. As cash payments were the tie between the people, the relationship between the employer and the employed came to be based upon a free contract, and each party to it was determined to secure the utmost advantage. While human and personal relationships predominated the old primary economy, all relationships in Indian society, gradually became objective in the new money economy. Authority and tradition dominated the old economy,

because of the methods of self-sufficient individual undertaking. But the limitations that resulted from them became unbearable when the economic system of the village autonomy was replaced by capitalistic enterprises pointing the way to the factory system. Competition became a serious factor, while the essence of the village system with its balanced economy, compulsory corporisation and price-fixing, according to rules of established Dharma, were the elimination of competition. The individual was unfree but secure as in a family, because the economy of the village was designed to satisfy immediate and local needs, for, the professional trading castes and artisan Jatis established for that purpose, had maintained their methods and life unchanged.

All conditions were fundamentally altered by the increasing power of mobile capital. Money showed the dynamic character of the world. As money could circulate, while landed property could not, it facilitated motion. As things could be exchanged quickly, the tempo of life was increased. While time was plentiful in the old economy, it became money in the new economy, and economic usage of time would make one master of all things. There was bound to be hand to mouth existence in the old system, for agricultural produce would not last for long periods, and therefore accumulation of values was impossible. With the rise of money economy, there was a gradual emancipation from the traditional form of society and the mediæval outlook.

The spirit of capitalism which began to rule the modern world from the 19th century, gradually deprived

India of the authoritarian element in society in order to make it more real. While the higher castes received European education, the trading and professional classes were not pressed by circumstances to avail themselves of the new educational advantages to the same extent. The economic development of the country was based at first on the willing agency of these trading castes. Jatis drawn from the Vaishya and Sudra castes, as well as the Parsee and Muhammadan small traders formed a new elite of capitalists who no longer took part in traditional occupations, but were active in the sphere of organisation and management, standing apart from the intellectual classes and the labouring Sudra caste and cultivators drawn from the Sudra and Panchama social order.

The Bourgeois:—BhadraLok.

This new commercial community, or bourgeois acquired power and social standing through wealth. The bourgeois began to think rationally and not traditionally; he did not desire the static and to acquiesce in the customary and the traditional but he was impelled towards something new. What was fundamentally important to him in society was the rational management of money and investment of capital. In the past period of predominantly agricultural production, the interest of the country had centered upon consumption, for it was impossible either to lose or increase landed property which is essentially static; but money in the form of productive capital could now create unlimited openings which emphasised the problem of acquisition as against that of consumption. The stability of the

static economy was upset by a dynamic element which increasingly and fundamentally altered its whole character. A progressive and expansive force inherent in the new type of economic man and the new economy was to break up, slowly but surely, the whole world of small economic units. It became possible for this new trading class to follow enterprising aims and exploit possibilities inherent in a money economy. The bourgeois gained power through wealth and gradually in spite of his caste status became important in military and political matters.

The period beginning from 1833, when, as a result of the Charter Act, the East India Company's monopoly was abolished, and trade was thrown open to all, may be characterised as an ideal epoch dominated by the trading castes and the educated classes imbued with a new spirit of humanism. The spirit of capitalism did not as yet dehumanise the country, for wealth was not concentrated in a few as to be regarded as an end in itself. In that epoch, riches were still regarded as a means to independence, respect and fame. Wealth determined the social status with the result, personal emancipation from a social structure which was rigidly graduated was easy of accomplishment, for, the pyramid of castes as well as the pyramid of values was assaulted and free competition was proclaimed as the law of nature. But, liberty was not made into a revolutionary principle symbolising onslaught upon all and every established authority. The social structure was still respected as an authoritarian institution, the only aim of the bourgeois being to vindicate his right to a position of importance.

Again, it was one of the traits of this early capitalist civilisation in India that business and politics became so thoroughly interdependent, that it was impossible to separate the interests they represented. Business methods began to serve political ends, and political means to serve business ends. Political decisions came to be influenced by commercial motives. There was the enunciation of a realistic policy guided by economic considerations. The tendency of the mercantile and trading classes was now to mix with the new educated middle classes, to adopt their way of life, their attitude and modes of thought, and to attempt to become part of the new society which the intellectual classes were forging. All these constituted a new class combining economic with political power; but their mode of life was on the whole determined by the economic element. This is noticeable, particularly, in the Bombay Presidency and in the South of India where the Zamindari system had not been established. In the North, though the feudal nobility and landed proprietors had lost monopoly in military matters, there was still the link of wealth with landed property and the landed classes were associated with the mercantile classes in the evolution of a new pattern of social order. This did not last long. Splendour and display, inclination to inactivity, unregulated and indolent mode of life made them look alien and anachronistic in an Era of reason, of economic and cultural trends. The small landed gentry who settled down in towns and became absentee landlords, took to commercial activities, won wealth and upon that basis built political

power. These, in nature, attitude and modes of thought became bourgeois too.

The Educated Middle Class—The Humanists.

It was not merely wealth but education too, which widened the mental horizon of the classes and enabled them to rebel against those sections of society which were mostly dependent upon caste structure and upon its way of thought, by virtue of which the caste exercised authority. The bourgeois resented the tutelage of the orthodox and developed his power on the twin props of money and intellect as a bourgeois of liberal character. In the past, blood traditions and group feeling had been the basis of community relationships, as well as, of domination. The democratic and urban spirit which began to permeate society, through the influence of British institutions and administration, tended to modify the old social forms and their natural and accepted law and order. The old community life was characterised by a conservative type of thought and a religious way of life which order the world in an authoritarian manner; but now religion lost its power in society as well as its function as a common bond of all. Vernacular languages began to supercede Sanskrit which was the language of the Brahmin. New modes of thought tending towards individual freedom neutralised the power of the orthodox classes over the others; and social conditions which had lacked a rational basis gave way to a systematic order. There was wholesale rationalisation; and there was to be, no longer a communal and an irrational positive attitude to certain values, because, the organic

structure of the past was threatened by rational principles and technique. Conviction began to grow that the ability to master the environment would give the individual an opportunity to rise in the social scale.

The highest caste which was still disdainful of commercial and trading occupations, tried to maintain its power through intellect and education. With the spread of education, particularly during the second half of the century, members of other castes got educated, and like the Brahmins gained access to the best social, religious and political thought of the English people, and thus to appreciate their outlook and method of approach to current problems. Still, for a long time, higher education was confined to the highest caste only, and a survey of the literary and social history of Bengal, Madras and Bombay during the last quarter of the 19th century, shows that the best writers and social reformers were recruited from the old aristocracy of intellect. Though Bombay and Madras were represented in the new literary currents, most of the best writers of the day were drawn from Bengal, for English education in its early stages had impressed Bengalees more than others. Many of the great writers, from an admiration of a symmetrical uniformity due to a classical Sanskrit taste, descended to an appreciation of the strength of freedom, of individuality, of liberty and of resistance in the lowly to the government of the day. There are many names crowded together in the limited space of half a century and all of them were poets, dramatists and great Social Reformers :—Ram Mohan Roy,

Akshai Kumar Datta 1820-1873, Iswara Chandra Vidyasagar (1820-1891), Iswara Chandra Gupta (1809-1853), Michael Madhusudana Dutt (1824-1873), Hemachandra Bannerji (1838-1902), Bunkim Chatterji (1838-1894), Dina Bandhu Mitter (1830-1874), and the Dutt family to mention a few. Dr. Krishna Mohan Bannerji (1813-1885), Dr. Brajendra Lal Mitra (1821-1892), Lal Behari Day were essayists and philosophers who wrote in English. Kissori Chandra Mitra, Pearychandra Mittra (1815-83), Bolanath Chander and Ameer Ali wrote essays and biography. Harish Chandra Mukherji, Girish Chandra Ghosh, Kristo Das Pal, Rai Bahadur were popular Journalists. Among the men who became famous as speakers may be mentioned— Gopal Ghose, Kesab Chandra Sen ; while Digambar Mitra, Manoharlal Sirkar and Kanai Lal De were well known jurists.

Raja Ram Mohan Roy was a great admirer of British institutions and British contact with India. In his letter to William Rathbone after the passing of the Reform Bill in 1832, he said, " in the event of the Reform Bill being defeated, I would renounce my connection with England ".[1] Roy's conception of law and morality as well as his demand for constitutional checks and balances was definitely Austinian and Blackstonian.[2] Ram Mohan Roy pleaded for Separation of Powers in government and protested against the union of majesterial and judicial power with the office of the Collector.[3] It is clear from the story of the life of Ram Mohan Roy,

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[1] Collected works of Raja Ram Mohan Roy. p. 925.
[2] Do do do p. 267.
[3] Do do do p. 383.

that his thought was considerably influenced by the writings of the celebrated French political philosopher Montesquieu, the English Jurist Blackstone, and the Utilitarian Philosopher, Bentham. The great works of Bentham 'Fragment on Government' and 'Introduction to Morals and Legislation' were popular with Roy and his circle, and these impressed on them the importance of codification of civil and criminal law, and the importance of the difference between law and morality.[1] Dwarakanath Tagore and Roy were such great admirers of the British Constitution and way of life that they even favoured English colonisation of India, and stated in the House of Commons 'the greater our intercourse with European gentlemen, the greater will be our improvement in literary, social and political affairs.'[2]

Many of the contemporaries of Ram Mohan Roy, Krishnamohan Banerjee, Mullick Maheschandra Ghosh were devout disciples of Derozio, Principal of the Hindu College, Calcutta, and shared with him his enthusiasm for the revolutionary doctrines of natural rights and equality. But, a majority of the students of that generation were followers of Benthamite principles in politics, and Adam Smith in political economy, because their teachers taught them Philosophical Radicalism that was in vogue in England at that time.[3]

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1 Bengal Hurkuru daily. July 18, 1843.

2 Asiatic Journal, June 1830.

3 Asiatic Intelligence, Oct. 1836.

Bentham: 'What it is a man's duty to do cannot but be also his interest. It is the Arithmetic of Pains and pleasures.'

Bengal Spectator, Sept. 4, 1842.

The students also drew inspiration from Bacon, Hume and Tom Paine. Hume's works were read with great avidity; and copies of Paine's Age of Reason were bought by students at eight rupees a copy, and the book was translated into Bengali and it appeared as a series in *Prabhakar* and other newspapers.[1]

The revolutionary philosophy of the Second French Revolution had an irresistible appeal to the young men of the generation; and the students started Societies to debate on all important questions in ethics, philosophy and politics; freewill, fate, faith, irrationalities of organised religion, hollowness of idolatry, and pantheism were other subjects of animated debate and discussion. The Bengal Spectator was started in 1832 to spread the ideas and political thought of leading British and Bengali writers. Several of the daily newspapers dedicated themselves to the dissemination of knowledge of the history and political life of the West among Indian readers. It was contended that as power is delegated to government by the people with a view to the protection of rights, the prevention of wrongs and the consequent promotion of happiness, the government ought to consider the education of the people whom they govern, a part of their duty[2] and spread through its agencies sound and useful knowledge. Demand was made for Indianisation of Government services, for extensive employment of Indians in services[3], for the opening of judicial and fiscal offices to competitive examinations, and in short, for

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1 Christian Observer, Calcutta, August 1832.

2 The Bengal Spectator, April 3, 1843.

3 Bengal Hurukuru, March 1843.

the cultivation of a western outlook and for pure rationalism, in all kinds of social relations.

During the third decade of the 19th century already, thousands of students gathered in schools to study English and to participate in the discussion of local politics, literature, religion, metaphysics, political economy and jurisprudence ; and in such discussions the students resorted to citations from Lycurgus, Aristotle, Plato, Hume, Bentham, Buckle and Mill.[1] As a result of this kind of education and a wide outlook in·politics, there was the development of an enlightened criticism of governmental policy and an organised effort to secure political rights.[2] The India League and the India Society were founded during the seventies of the century representing the opinion of the educated middle classes, and these spread enlightenment among the people, on the importance of constitutional government, the value of education as a civil right, of expediency and limits of legislative interference in social and educational matters, the relations between the character of the people and forms of government, and the utility of measures to promote national feeling.

Along with the India League formed in September 1875 as a political body calling upon the nation to mould the country to their liking, genius and

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[1] Asiatic Journal : Education of the Natives of India, 1836, p 12.

[2] Calcutta Review, Volumes 1846-1860 ; Proceedings of the Bethuene Society 1859-60-64.

character, *Sarvajanika Sangha* of Poona and other political associations organised themselves to form a regular native public opinion on modern European principles. Bengali leaders like Ghosh, the exponent of middle class democracy, Mitra and Bankimchandra Chatterji, as well as Tamilian and Maharashtrian leaders were conversant with the thought of European philosophers like Locke, Paine, Bentham, Spencer, Darwin, Comte, Lecky, Buckle and Mill, and spoke and wrote in the language of these famous European writers about the necessity of social control, horrors of the tyranny of majorities, of the importance of equal rights of women with men, the theory of unearned increment and so on. This was an attempt to blend reverence for ancient Indian culture with European rationalism, to interpret the ideals in the light of the Utilitarian and positivist philosophy.

The Muslims who dominated public services and public life before the 19th century, began to lose their position with the introduction of the English language. The rapid development of Hinduism and the birth of many literary and political societies, aroused the Muslims under the leadership of Amir Ali Khan, a scion of the famous Barh family of the Patna district, to shed backwardness and achieve organisation and solidarity.[1] The object of the Muslim Literary Society founded in 1863 by Abdul Latif was to break down prejudices and exclusiveness, and to interest Muslim members in

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[1] F. D, Bradley Birt: Twelve men of Bengal in the nineteenth century, p 94, p 125.

politics and modern thought and learning. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan intensified his efforts to rouse his community to the importance of absorbing western culture and to organise themselves politically, and his initiative led to the foundation of the Aligarh College and for a demand for better educational facilities and for appointments of Muslims in services. It is surprising that there was not a single Mohammadan in the committees of the Landholders' Society, the British India Society, and the British India Association before 1879; and the statistics of the Muslim students in schools and colleges reveal that their number did not exceed six hundred, while thousands of Hindus thronged educational institutions.[1] Therefore, during the period under review, it may safely be said that there was no middle class Muslim opinion, and what ideas the educated Muslims assimilated and propagated were not of sufficient force and intensity to shape the course of coming events.

The Outlook of the Middle Classes.

All the writers, poets, dramatists, novelists, essayists and reformers of the century were imbued with the highest kind of patriotism and love to their country and to the people who were too much caught up in the machinery of the old order. Because of their education and of the western ideas which they made an integral part of their own outlook, they were in a

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[1] The Hindoo Patriot, March 6, 1879.

Syed Mahamood: History of English Education in India, p 183-186.

difficult position within the whole structure of society. There was a tension between the social orientation towards the people, and their intellectual orientation away from society. Though they wrote in the popular language, they differentiated themselves all the more sharply from it, when in the role of the intellectual *elite*. The intellectual classes possessed an erudition appropriate to their day, for, then as at any time, wealth and erudition were the principles of social selection. As the intellectual classes emanated mostly from towns, their culture was essentially urban.

The mercantile classes likewise had risen in the towns, and both now worked their way up apart from primitive economy. As wealth was a criterion of power, so too was intellect. In the urban atmosphere, where birth and caste status were no longer decisive and where personal prestige was increasingly important, intellectual eminence and wealth were the only means of improving one's place in society. These had far reaching social consequences, as literary, scientific and artistic education in urban areas came to be dominated by the intellectual classes. The intellectuals made little attempt to establish downward contacts, judging from the backwardness of a large percentage of the population. Thus, a new social rift opened, no less wide than the economic rift which was the result of capitalism. Legislative work, efficiency in administration, the need for preservation of law and order, challenged the best talent of the country; and the opening of lucrative possibilities in the army and public works enabled the intelligent and the educated

classes to participate in most of these public activities, which were denied to a large part of their unfortunate brethren. This gave the intellectual classes an immense feeling of their own superiority which was personal rather than corporate.

This new class did not consist exclusively of the Brahmin caste; characteristic and decisive for the intellectual elite was the diversity of its social origins; for Parsees, Christians, Vaishyas, Kshatriyas and even the lower orders of the Hindu society were represented in it. The Muhammadans were a little slow in eschewing their love of Persian and of the old order stabilised by Mughal rule and take to the new forces that were agitating the society. This newly-born class tried to sever all those ties which held it to a definite social reality, and its humanism attempted consciously to tear itself loose from its roots in order to win through to that outer and inner independence which characterised the genuinely educated in all parts of the world then.

The new class was detached from the society and it constituted itself a society all its own, in its modes of life, unending restlessness, excessive self-consciousness, craving for celebrity and a passionate desire to shake off domination of all types. As the new criterion, in the age, were those of wealth and learning, priests and landlords were to be displaced from their hegemony by the new economic power of money, and their place was to be taken by the alliance of bourgeois and the humanist; of mercantile classes and the learned professions. Money and

talent were now forced together in face of mediaeval tradition; and the mode of thought of this newly emancipated individual was expressive of an attempt to control the outside world and the different classes more and more consciously; and instead of the authority of a caste in a community, there was now to be the domination of a new aristocracy of wealth and talent in the community that had become society.

The enlightenment of India was at first an intellectual awakening and it influenced Indian literature, education, thought and other aspects of life; but in the next generation, particularly in the last quarter of the 19th century, it became a moral force and reformed the Indian society and religion; in the first quarter of the twentieth century the movement was to lead to the economic modernisation of India. Accordingly, at first, there was the intellectual domination of the educated class, which exploited the new democratic tendencies of the age as the best way to ensure its own domination; and this domination was very much attenuated by the capitalist domination of the moneyed classes who became, due to the development of international events and wars, a power in Indian political and social life during the two decades of the twentieth century.

Thus, the new conditions of life which were brought into existence during the 19th century introduced new attitudes and new evaluations. The Middle classes were now aggressively self-conscious as to reject any limits that were to be imposed upon their freedom. The new order which the middle classes

represented turned out to be the expression of an urge towards what is on principle unlimited and without bounds—of a dynamic will to progress, marked by the thought of freely competing individuals, and by an unending process which no longer confined itself to certain pre-determined intellectual phenomena. Everything was to be regarded in the new vision in a secular rational light, and all things, be they business, politics or social reform were to be treated as autonomous and subject to their own particular laws. With the disappearance of the village economy and the old order along with its narrow, intellectual and social outlook, and its separate ethical group standards, town life was broadened ushering a new era of individualism.

This individualism provided a link between the industrious, politically-active bourgeois and the intelligentsia, and both perceived the importance of the autonomy of society and of the human spirit. During the period of our study, the intellectual classes stood to the other classes of society and even to the mercantile classes, as a Sanyasin did to the lay order in mediæval Hindu society, for he regarded himself as charged with a special spiritual mission and hence thought of himself as the cream of society, and desired the community to recognise him as such. The intellectual class resembled in many respects the old contemplative social type ; economic dependence forced them, though their instinct was against it, to move among the prosperous mercantile classes with ease and affability. The masses always looked to

them for guidance, for now they sought the guidance of human reason and intelligence in an effort to give beauty and meaning to living. They began substituting human letters for the knowledge of divine things, of mediæval scholastic education and of the life of asceticism, and of the sastras, which did not make life look like a blessing; for, then, beauty was a snare, pleasure a sin, and the world, a fleeting show. They gave to the people new ideas of life and destiny, of liberty and the duty of man, set the mind free to explore the wisdom of the ages without bias or fear of loosing faith, trained them to dependence on unaided human intelligence instead of submission to authority. This class brought back to the minds of the people, the daring, critical questioning, and habits of thought of ancient philosophy and education, and thus led men to see the maximum development and excellence of the individual in the great aims of human effort.

Thus, the Indian society, like individuals discovered a way of coming to maturity. The latter half of the nineteenth century revealed a profound psychological change. the beginning of a process by no means yet completed, of the *secularisation of the cultural values* of the Indian Society. The didactic aptitude of the masses, and their susceptibility to this sort of guidance, their habit of requiring and enjoying the stimulus the intellectual classes supplied, all constituted a favourable background for the emergence of leadership. The intellectual awareness of the people inspired with lofty ideals

and deeply appreciative of the intellectual and moral worth of those who were really its greatest men was one of the chief creative forces of the reformative and politically stimulating movements of the last last quarter of the nineteenth century.



CHAPTER III.

THE PRESS AS THE VOICE OF THE MIDDLE CLASSES. AND CENTRAL GOVERNMENT.

The last chapter goes behind the historical and political events of the country before 1875 and gives an analysis of the social realities which gave rise to the new outlook of the middle class that made its first appearance in the modern history of India. An attempt will be made in this section to trace how far freedom of the press helped the education of the middle classes in the acquisition of the new outlook, and what were their reactions to the control of the press by the central government.

Press in India was created by those who for personal or other reasons were disappointed with the East India Company's monopoly of trade and power in India. The early history of the press shows a conflict between a Company that tried to make the press an adjunct of government, and a press that tried to emancipate itself from its control and sit in judgment over governmental action.

A summary of this conflict between the policies of freedom and control is relevant in connection with

I am indebted for a part of this chapter on the early history of the Press in India to Margarita Barns, Sir Roger Lethbridge, S. C. Sanyal, O'Mailley and others, whose books "The Indian Press, The Press in India, and History of the freedom of the Press, &c.," are a valuable contribution to the subject.

the history of the freedom of the press in India. Between 1780 and 1798 several newspapers were started. The Bengal Gazette was the first Indian newspaper to be started by James Augustus Hicky. Messink and Peter Reed established the Indian Gazette. The Calcutta Gazette was founded under the auspices of the government in 1784. The Bengal Journal appeared in 1785, followed within a month by the Oriental Magazine or the Calcutta Amusement and the Madras Courier; the Calcutta Chronicle in 1786, the Bombay Herald in 1789, the Bombay Courier in 1790 and the Bombay Gazette in 1791 followed. Scandals, subjects of interest to Englishmen, events in England, affairs of English aristocracy, letters from different parts of the world, private lives of native rulers, miscellaneous advertisements from lottery to sale of wine, list of arrivals and departures, coloured the papers.[1] Because of scurrilous attacks by editors like Humpreys and Duane on the government of Bengal and Royal family, there was the necessity to introduce regulations in 1799; previous inspection by a governmental official was made a necessary condition for publication and a penalty was imposed for violation of the regulation.

The Marquess of Wellesley and Lord Minto were harsh on the tribe of English editors, who, exasperated at this treatment, denounced the ordinances as the *neplus ultra* of human despotism.[2] Still newspapers grew in numbers. The Gujerat printing press was

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[1] Leicester Stanhope: A Sketch of the history and influence of the Press in British India, 1827, p. 7.9.

[2] Wellesley's Memoirs: R. R. Pearce, Vol. I. p. 45, 108.

established in 1812, the first Bengalee newspaper appeared in 1816, followed within a couple of years by *Dig Darsan*, *Friend of India*, and the weekly *Samachar Darpan*. The *Hurkuru*, Morning Post, the Oriental Star, and the Asiatic Mirror were other papers managed by Englishmen. Though there was evidence of the papers giving offence to the government, still the press was a vehicle of comment upon the excesses of administration.[1] In the words of James Mill 'in the early portion of its career, the Indian Press had been left to follow its own course with no other check than that which the law of libel imposed ... While they were useless as vehicles of local information of any value, they were filled with indecorous attacks upon private life and ignorant censures of public measures'.[2] It was a time when Britain was at war with the French who were making the last desperate effort to regain hold on India under the leadership of Napoleon, and England could ill-afford to let its government in India being adversely criticised in public.

The Regulations of the Marquis of Wellesley were intended to control the editors of newspapers and even other publications of a religious character run by the Serampore Missionaries. The letter from Secretary Edmonstone to Dr. Carey, founder of the Serampore Settlement is interesting. It stated 'publications of the nature alluded to, are evidently calculated to produce consequences in the highest

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[1] J. D'costa : Remarks on the Vernacular Press, p 40, 1797.

[2] James Mill : History of India, Vol. III. p. 581, 1846.

degree detrimental to the tranquillity of the British Dominion in India. ... ... It becomes the indispensable duty of the British government to arrest the progress of any proceedings of that nature '.[1] The conception of missionary functions was laid down by the Court of Directors on May 29, 1807 thus : 'When we afforded our countenance and sanction to missionaries ... we were perfectly aware that the progress of such conversion will arise more from a conviction of principles of our religion itself and from the pious examples of its teachers than from any undue influence or from the exertions of authority which are never to be resorted to in such cases '.[2]

Many editors between 1801-1830 were censured for objectionable articles, animadversions on public measures and for discussions which were likely to provoke the population, and also for remarks tending to excite dissensions. It was becouse the government was sensitive to offensive writings, that notice was frequently taken of writings in the press, particularly in Bombay, Madras and other parts of the country.

Hastings and Freedom of the Press.

With the beginning of Hastings's administration, control over the press was cancelled, and in its place was substituted, some general rules for the guidance of editors and preventive of discussion of dangerous topics. His Regulations were framed to encourage the press to develop a sense of responsibility and not

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[1] Countess of Minto: Life and letters of Lord Minto, p. 76.

[2] ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, p. 63-64.

to force them into an attitude of relentless hostility to the administration.[1] The Madras public in their address to Hastings stated "Public opinion was the strongest support of just government and liberty of discussion served but to strengthen the hands of the executive. Such freedom of discussion was the gift of a liberal and enlightened mind".[2]

Though the freedom of the press implied in the hands of unscrupulous journalists, the circumvention of 1818 Regulations and indulgence in accrimonious and undignified references, a section was for a fight for justice and equity. The lives of many of the editors of newspapers in India were dramatic and tragic. Most of them were poor with the result, they had to be subservient to the views of the proprietors of the printing press, and to those who advanced funds for such journalistic speculation. The editor's daily bread and personal liberty depended on his giving satisfaction to his moneyed patron, and the existence of his paper on avoiding offence to the government. He was placed between Scylla of power and Charybdis of gaol.[3] In spite of many privations, it was gallant of them to victimise themselves in vindication of the freedom of the press of India.

1 Home Miscellany Series; India Office. VII. 538. p. 5.

2 Leicester Stanhope: Sketches of the history and influence of the press in British India, p. 12-33.

Oriental Herald: Case of Arnold. 1825.

3 Sandford Arnot: A sketch of the History of the Indian Press. Tract Vol. 28. 1829, p. 45.

Leicester Stanhope argued that the diffusion of knowledge would be possible through the medium of education, and a free press would rapidly improve the condition of society in India and in the surrounding world.[1] Francis Homes stated that "a free press is the best protection against sedition and revolution; restraint breeds secret political revolts and insurrection; it is the intrinsic character of a free press to be favourable to justice, truth and order; it is the truest friend of good governments".[2]

The Career of James Silk Buckingham as an Editor.

The most courageous of the editors of the period was James Silk Buckingham, a Whig who identified himself with such progressive movements in England as universal suffrage, the repeal of the Corn Laws, the sovereign power of the people and the vulnerability and mutability of governments. As a free trader, he advocated the abolition of the East India Company's monopoly; as an editor he considered that it is incumbent upon himself to admonish governors and remind them of their duties and to tell disagreeable truth. In the absence of an elected legislature, he considered the press as a necessary check on an irresponsible government, and insisted that the government should be subjected to public scrutiny. He was fearless in his attacks on even the highest officers of the Company's government for dereliction of duty,

[1] Leicester Stanhope: A sketch of the history and influence of the Press in British India 1823, p 79.

[2] Francis Homes: Letter to Hastings on the Indian Press, London 1824.

and warned that censorship by authority which combined law-making and executive function would place freedom of opinion in a very perilous and uncertain state. The system that is best suited to India is that which requires the grave and deep consideration of all the philosophy and virtue of a great people, and therefore it was his chief argument that to use means to call the principles of avarice and ambition to action, to make a scramble for patronage, or a general grasping at the supposed inexhaustible mines of wealth to be found in the East, was to court disaster.[1] Of those who were associated with him in this struggle for freedom of the press in England were Phillip Drake, Jowett, J. Nevins, John Betts and Hunt.

Buckingham was one of the few humanitarians of the Age who proclaimed the right of individuals and of the press to discuss and censure, and to control measures of government and to bring the conduct of public men before the bar of public opinion.[2] As an associate of Ram Mohan Roy in his efforts to spread Hindu political and social opinion, he predicted that, by the introduction of a free press, the moral and the intellectual reformation of the country could be achieved. He had introduced among the public of Bengal the poetical works of the great romantic poets, Wordsworth, Shelley and Byron. He had a number

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1 Sandford Arnot: A sketch of the History of the Indian Press with a short sketch of James Silk Buckingham 1829, p. 82.83.

2 Calcutta Journal IV. 411. 1822.

of friends among the Company's directors like Kincaird, Joseph Hume,[1] Forbes and others who treated with respect Buckingham's contribution to political life. When he was in England after his deportation, he started the *Atheneum*, with a view to foster discriminatory reading of books which were being released in large numbers, then, as a result of improved machinery and printing. He carried on a crusade in the columns of the *Oriental Herald* against the monopoly of the Company, and as a Sheffield Parliamentary representative in the first Reformed Parliament, helped in the most important legislation, as regards the renewal of the Charter. He advocated universal education and franchise, free trade, secret ballot and World Peace. As a result of his assiduous efforts, the Charter opened certain of the political and military services of government to the natives, extended the legislative powers of the Council and abolished the practice of issue of licences for intending emigrants to reside in India.

A long account of the career of Buckingham is given, because he was one of the formative forces of public opinion in India and a staunch advocate for freedom of the press. The growth of the press in India centred in the beginning on Calcutta and Madras, though Bombay had a few papers composed entirely of selections from English papers and occasional law reports. Real interest could not be aroused, though Bombay *Courier* and Bombay *Gazette* and *Iris* under the editorship of Stocqueler, did invite sedition and encourage discontent.

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[1] Asiatic Journal, Vol. XIX. January to June 1825. p 72.

The press in India during this period, apart from a few sincere lovers of Indian freedom, was predominantly the press of a small European community. The papers, printers and publishers and editors were all Englishmen, with a few vernacular papers primarily devoted to social and theological discussions. The press neither represented, nor defended, the interests of the people against the government, and the people of India had no press of their own of any importance. The references to the Indian people in the English press were only incidental to the declared objects of the press which was to defend the interests of the European community in India against the government. William Bentinck was attacked in the press for ameliorative measures, and Lord Macaulay for his educational policy.[1] Accordingly, both Mountstuart Elphinstone and Sir Thomas Munro had both argued for the control of the press.[2]—'a free press implied a free people, and

[1] "Public opinion means the opinion of five hundred persons who have no interest, feeling or taste in common with the fifty millions among whom they live; love of liberty means, the strong objections through which the five hundred feel to every measure which can prevent them from acting as they choose towards the fifty millions."

Trevelyan: Life and letters of Lord Macaulay, p. 125.

[2] "If the press be free we shall be in a predicament such as no state has experienced. We shall have to contend at once with the more refined theories of Europe, with the prejudices and fanaticism of Asia, both rendered doubly formidable by the imperfect education of those to whom every appeal will be addressed."

Elphinstone: Evidence before

August 5, 1832.

the press could act through the people only when the majority of them had already imbibed the spirit of freedom.'[1]

Control of the Press.

The declaration of the Directors in 1823 as regards the public press bears repetition: 'A free press is a fit associate and a necessary appendage of representative institutions . . the government in India exercises delegated authority derived from the Court of Directors and the Board of Control. The Government of India resides in England and is of course responsible to the English public. It is in England, therefore, and not in India that its measures ought to be discussed.[2] A free press as it was understood in England, then, was one subject to responsibility after publication, one which had the capability of giving primary publicity to any sentiments whether licentious or otherwise but which paid a future penalty for any errors committed. A press was considered enslaved when it was subject to arbitrary interruptions, or to a previous censorship, for just as self-knowledge protected the individual, so an educated community was protected against its errors of publication.[3] But the conditions in India were different. The nature of British rule in India was that of political influence harmonised with commercial

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[1] Sir Thomas Munro : Native Press. Parliamentary papers. No. 71. 12th April 1822.

[2] Letter from the Director to Right Hon, W. W. Wynn. June 17, 1825.

[3] The Commonsense Book. Vol. I, No. III, August 1824. (a) Character of the British Press p, 359-369.

adventure, and India had a constant approach to inflammability, and whether a free press was the fittest instrument to be used as a cooler in such a state was to be doubted—India was in the situation of a phosphorus box and to carry objects of dispute there, would be like playing with 'the torch in the vicinity of a magazine.' In England, Indian topics however ardently discussed, created no ebullition, but in India, discussions added oil to a ready prepared fire, and it was this latter effect which "the liberals aimed to produce, and they thought it to be a magnificent theory. To hit, little caring how, was the aim of a periodical journalist." [1]

Such considerations as these were the outcome of the triumph of Toryism. John Adams in 1823 promulgated new regulations for the press which aroused a storm of protest from the editors of English and vernacular papers.[2] Raja Ram Mohan Roy and five of his colleagues Chandra Kumar Tagore, Dwarakanath Tagore, Harchandra Ghose, Gowri Charan Banerjee, Prasannakumara Tagore, through their lawyer, Cutlar Fergusson petitioned the government against the regulations. This came to be known as the *Areopagitica* of the Indian press. They all regarded it as a natural right of all men to have a free access to knowledge and opinion without the intervention of any authority, and to say what was good for them and what was not, was

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1 The Commonsense Book. Vol. I, No. III, August 1824. (b) State of the Press in India. p. 432.454.

2 Selections from Indian and Colonial Journals on the order issued by J. Adams restricting the liberty of the press 1824. p. 123.142.

merely a reflection of English political principles and ways of thought. The petitioners discovered that regulations could endanger national education by putting a stop to diffusion of knowledge through translations of foreign publications and thus impede enlightenment.[1] For the first time, the petitioners showed that they were interested in journalism and politics, and the petition for civil and religious privileges, to the King which Roy appealed, undaunted by Justice Macnaughton's decision, marked the beginning of that constitutional agitation which was ultimately to fulfil itself in the birth of the National Congress, and the demand for self-government.[2] Their championship of the freedom of the press as an instrument of enlightenment and public opinion induced many others to follow their example and build up, by publications and newspapers, a body of vigorous and intelligent opinion arresting the growth of power and helping popular participation in governmental affairs. Still, both the Government in India and Lord Liverpool and Canning deprecated the growing abuse of a licentious press, and agreed on the deportation of editors on the sure and ultimate foundation of the rules regulating the press. C. J. Fair and

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[1] Raja Ram Mohan Roy on the liberty of the Press, edited by Sachindra Kumar Ghosh 1910. p. 5.

[2] 'The native papers have done nothing to disparage the government or to promote dissension. Native authors and editors have always restrained themselves from publishing matters obnoxious to govenment. Experience proves that a good government grows stronger as its subjeets become more enlightened.' Raja Raman Roy. S. S. Collet. Life and Letters of R. R. Roy. p. 2.

and Sandford Arnot, who was Secretary of Ram Mohan Roy in England, were deported, and servants of the Company in India were required to cease their connections with the newspapers.

Liberalism in English Politics, its reaction to Indian Press.

While these restrictions were enforced in India, tendencies were afloat in England for securing the emancipation of the Catholics, and for the Reform of Parliament. The Catholic Emancipation Act in 1829 and the Reform Act in 1832 were passed and in 1833, the Company Act abolished the issue of licences to immigrants to reside in India, and thus indirectly induced the immigration of a large number of merchants and traders of the middle class imbued with the new spirit of reform. This group contacted the local merchants and traders and formed a bourgeois class with common objects and aspirations ultimately embodied in the Indian National Association. Newspapers increased and there were thirty-three English papers in Bengal alone, and the total number of subscribers were in the neighbourhood of 2500. Most of the papers were owned and published by Englishmen.[1]

[1] G. Stockwell : Official Minute Sep. 24, 1828.

Dailies—Bengal Hurkuru, John Bull, The Indian Gazette.

Biweekly—Government Gazette, The Bengal Herald. The Calcutta Literary Gazette, The Oriental Observer.

Monthly—The Calcutta Magazine, The Gleanings of Science, The Kaleidoscope, The Christian Intelligence.

Yearly—The Bengal Annual, The Sovenir, Almanac, Bengal Directory and Calcutta Directory.

To mention a few English papers :—

Papers	*Editors*
Telegraph	Holt Mackenley
Oriental Star	Richard Fleming
Indian Gazette	John Maxwell
Asiatic Mirror	Bruce
Bengal Hurkuru	Charles Bruce and School-bred
India Herald	Humpreys
Madras Courier	Richard Johnson
Bengal Herald	Montgomery Martin
Iris	Stocqueler
Hesperus	R. Moreiro
The Philanthropist	G. H. Hough[1]

A number of vernacular papers had also been established during this period. *Dig Darsan* a Bengali periodical became *Samachar Darsun* on 23rd May 1818 with Marshman as editor. Raja Ram Mohan Roy was associated with *Sampat Kaumudi*, a weekly, publishing theological discussions and vindicating the rational Hindu-point of view against Serampore Missionaries. Bhavani Charan Banerji was one of his collaborators in this effort. The paper became a bi-weekly in 1823 under Ananda Chandra Mukherji. *Samachara Chandrika* was started as an organ of the orthodox Hindu community and thus was hostile to Raja Ram

[1] *Madras*—Government Gazette, Madras Gazette, Courier.

Bombay—The Daily Gazette, The Courier, Chronicle, Commercial Advertiser, Oriental Christian Spectator (Dr. Wilson).

Mohan's religious reforms and liberalism. It was incorporated in 1829 with *Dainik*.

Some Persian papers were published at the end of the 18th century, but these were short lived. *Jani-Jahan Numa* began its first appearance on March 28, 1822, devoted to the dissemination of news culled out from English periodicals and newspapers. Another paper with which Raja Ram Mohan was associated, was the *Mirat-ul-Akbar* mostly concerned with theological controversy and social reform. Ram Mohan wrote most of the editorials with the sole object of giving to the rulers, a knowledge of the real situation of their subjects, and make the subjects acquainted with the established laws and customs of their rulers, so that the rulers may the more readily find an opportunity of granting relief to the people, and the people may be put in possession of the means of obtaining protection and redress from their rulers. *Bingadut* or Bengal Herald was another important paper published in four languages, and in this venture Raja Ram Mohan Roy was associated with a band of devoted workers animated by the highest ideals and purposes. Furdoonji Murzban in Bombay had started the Samachar Press, and from 1812 Bombay *Samachar* began to appear, enlightening the people on Parsee religious texts. By 1830 a number of Bengali and other vernacular papers were in circulation.[1]

[1] Parliamentary papers. September 1830, p. 104-5. Annual Return for 1830.

1830 Papers	Editors Messrs.
Samachar Chandrika	Bhavani Charan Banerjee
Banga Dut	Kristo Mohan Das
Sampad Kaumudi	Govinda Chatterji Iswar Chandra Dutt
Sampad Prabhakar	Iswar Chandra Guptoo
Sampad Sudhakar	Premachandra Roy
Neetyo Prakash	Deleep Chandra Chatterji
Sampad Ratnakara	Madosoodana Das
Sampad Mayooka	Bhooban Mohan Banerji
Sampad Satsangha	Baney Madant Dey
Sanghad Ratnaboly	Maheschandra Paul
Gyan Auneshun	Rasik Krishna Mallick Madan Chandra Mallik
Jauri Jahan Numa	Harihar Dutt
Mumbai Vartaman	Naoroji Doravji Chandar
Jam-e-Jamshed	Rustomji Manekji Motiwala
Mahalam Afrose	Wahajuddeen Mahommed

This large number of papers in circulation are indicative of the great wave of humanitarian liberalism with which the editors were imbued and the solicitude of the government in looking upon the press in spite of absence of responsibility, as an auxillary to good govrnment.

Charles Metcalfe and Freedom of the Press.

The old Toryism which was oppressive in spirit was now superseded by a current of liberalism expressed in the Act of 1835, when Metcalfe and Macaulay repealed all the existing regulations which had seriously hampered the freedom of the press. The opinion of the

Governor General's Council was strongly in favour of the freedom of the press, so long as the papers were printed and published in English, and against publication in the local vernacular languages. The case was not quite the same with the native press, for "it may take a malignant turn, calculated and designed to set the whole population against us, ... but the experiment has been commenced of leaving the press free, and we have therefore only the choice of endeavouring to influence it.'[1] C. J. Metcalfe struck a liberal note in his Minute 'I think that in all our legislation between European and native subjects . . . any restraint on the native press beyond what is imposed on the European would be unjudicious, and that any restraint on either, beyond that of the laws is not requisite.'[2] The Act No. XI of 1835 repealed the 1823 Press Regulations in Bengal and Bombay Press Regulations of 1825 and 1827, and free expression of thought and discussion, to natives as well as to Europeans was thus conceded. One of Metcalfe's passages reads like this : 'I look to the increase of knowledge with a hope that it may strengthen our Empire, that it may remove prejudices, soften asperities and substitute a rational conviction of the benefits of our government, that it may unite the people and their rulers in sympathy and that the differences that separate them may be gradually lessened and ultimately annihilated.'[3] Metcalfe paid dearly for his convictions, for he roused the resentment of the Whig

[1] Minute of H. T. Prinsep. Calcutta 17th April 1835.

[2] J. W. Kaye: Life of Lord Metcalfe, Vol. III. p. 262-264, para 2-5.

[3] J. W. Kaye: Lives of Indian Officers. p. 612.

Ministry and the Court of Directors, and was recalled in 1838. Though control over the press could be exercised by quick legislation and administrative action in times of emergency, Lord Elphinstone and many others would not support Metcalfe's view, as unrestricted freedom of the press was incompatible with the then existing Indian form of government. It was the opinion of W. W. Bayley Adams and Washington and other important servants of the Company that 'free press is all very good amongst a free people, but under a despotism such as our government is and must remain for the present, it is quite out of place'.

James Silk Buckingham and Lord Metcalfe had gone out of the Indian scene, but their political ideals had inspired a section of the educated public of India who were, through news papers, to do great propaganda for the spread of their knowledge of the West among the people.[1] An appreciation of Metcalfe's act was evident in the Free Press Dinner that was given to Metcalfe on the 9th Feb. of 1838 at the Town Hall in Calcutta. More than 169 gentlemen were present including Clark, H. M. Parker, Charles Prinsep, several merchants and doctors, Fairlie Leith, Professor of Law at Hailey Bury College, Dwarakanath Tagore and his brother, Baboo Prasanna Tagore, Rustomji Courasjee, Maunickjee Rustomjee and others. An interesting feature was that most of the speakers spoke of the desire to have the same law for the press in India as it existed in England: 'By freeing the press you benefit the governed; by freeing the press you likewise extend the blessings of

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[1] Edward Thomson: Life of Lord Metcalfe, p. 330.

knowledge and enlightenment to the people ... Free the press and you strengthen the bond of union between the native and the British subject.'[1] 'No true friend of the press will rest satisfied until he sees it placed under the safegaurd of the sole palladium of civil liberty, trial by Jury.[2] Free press strengthens them in ruling the vast region, and it is also a guarantee to the people that their rulers mean to govern with justice, since they are not afr aid to let their subjects be judges of their acts.[3] "The press is inseparable from a people, as harmony and beauty are inseparable from the work of creation. The explosive tendencies of steam and of all combustible gasses in the world are as nothing to those which would exist among a people conversant with the language of Milton and Junius, of Chatham and of Brougham, of Franklin and Washington, yet prohibited by law from giving publicity to their sentiments with respect to the acts of their governments.'[4]

The English and the educated natives during this period were acutely conscious of the great struggles that were going on for constitutional liberty in Spain, Portugal and Poland, and consistent with liberalism in politics they favoured free trade, and believed that the freedom of commerce and the spirit of improvement go hand in hand. Many Englishmen in Indian public life, and

India Office Tract 505. Free Press Dinner to Charles Metcalfe at Calcutta, Feb. 9. 1838.

Speeches: 1. Longville Clarke,— p. 6 7.
" 2. C. H. Prinsep,— p 12.
" 3. Dwarakanath Tagore, p 16.
" 4. H. M. Parker, p 19.

merchants as Fullarton, Compton, John Grant, William Adams, James Sutherland and Theodore Dickens were emphatically for the enunciation of a policy comprising a magnitude of interests, tinged by sublime aspiration, of hope for the wellbeing of the universal man and for working for constitutional freedom and civil and religious liberty all over the world.

The period between the thirties and the sixties of the last century was one of great idealism when Evangelicalism and Humanitarianism of England had tended to advocate every form of humanity and hatred of pain, thus inspiring the desire in the government and in the common man to abolish all forms of cruelty. It was this combination of philosophic philanthropy and religious compassion that led to intense legislative activity in England; and the Reform Act, the Municipal Act, and the Poor Law and the Factory Legislation Acts were the result. It was a period of political reaction, but as Dicey says, 'the spread of political reaction will be often the time during which humane feeling will be on the increase ... and the age of Individualism was emphatically the Era of Humanitarianism.'[1] Thus, it was not surprising to discover Whig liberalism and Tory philanthropy being embodied in the same individuals as in William Bentinck, Sir Charles Metcalfe and others. It must not be forgotten that the evolution of Indian thought closely followed the progress of political and social thought of England. The Reform Act of 1832, the Poor Law Act of 1834,

[1] Dicey: Law and Public Opinion in England. p 253.

the Municipal Reform Act of 1836 and the intense legislative activity that followed, were all the work of the middle classes that had come to power for the first time in English history. The legislation of the period indicated that there was a systematic extension of individual freedom and the removal of every kind of oppression, in order to stimulate individual energy and self-help which were the cardinal creed of Utilitarianism. Similarly, the Charter Act of 1833 was the fruit of the first reformed Parliament.

It is significant to note that Raja Ram Mohan Roy had taken a warm interest in the discussions about the Reform Bill, and a British India Society was formed in England about the same time, to fix the eyes of the British people on the extent and claims of the British in India. As a result of George Thomson's visit to Calcutta, and the demand of the Individualist Radicals for the transformation of the revenue system, Bengal India Society was founded, and this was incorporated with the Bengal Landholders' Society, and the two became the Bengal Indian Association designed to protect the interests of the landlords against the tenancy-rights of the peasants. This Association and the British India Society in London, under the Chairmanship of John Bright turned out to be for some years, the most important medium through which non-official public opinion of the country on social, judicial, political and constitutional matters was expressed.

Under the influence of the Philosophical Radicals the opinion in India too was radical-individualist. It was no wonder that many Indians were conversant

with Paine, Milton, Washington, the thoughts of the French Revolutionaries as well as those of Bentham and the Philosophical Radicals. Guizot had written 'At the present day all people and governments must submit to discussion, examination and responsibility; let us firmly and faithfully adhere to the principles of our civilisation, justice, legality, publicity, liberty ... and let us never forget that if we must necessarily ask that all things should be laid open to us, we are ourselves under the eye of the world, and we in our turn will be examined and judged.[1] As religious neutrality was a cardinal tenet of East India Company's administration, and thus hostile to the conviction of the Muslims who believed in the importance of religious education, liberalism and the new currents of thought impinged exclusively on the higher and literate classes leaving the masses completely unimpressed by them. The newspapers whose editors had been deeply infected by the idealism of the West were extremely critical of the administration, while the latter had no authoritative defenders. The criticism of the administration was defended by such men as Auckland, Bentinck and Metcalfe who had all realised that in the absence of a Representative Assembly in India, the only medium through which the abuses of administration could be brought to light, and the sense of the community sounded on matters of public interest was the Press.[2]

[1] Guizot : Civilisation in Europe, p, 107.

[2] Sir Charles Trevelyan : The letters of Indo-philus, p 44-45.

The period between the Charter Act of 1835 and 1857 was one of great intellectual activity. Expansion of commerce, the spread of education and the diffusion of knowledge through the vernaculars, the demand for enlightened opinion for a change of the constitution and the organisation of an Indian legislature, and the spirit of liberalism aiming at equality of treatment for Indians in the services were a few of its chief features. A month after the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny, Henry Mead, Editor of 'the Friend of India' writing on the Centenary of Plassey stated, 'We found India destitute of invention and enterprise, ignorant of liberty and the blessings of peace ... we have placed her face to face with the forces of our civilisation ... we have given her liberty. ... The Hindu stands upon the same platform with the Englishman, shares equal privileges with him ... and challenges for himself as great a measure of the protection and immunities accorded by the State, ... he has no political enemies, and his grievances are all social. ... It is a great crime in some instances to trample out a nationality, to strangle in infancy what might have grown up to be one of the fairest births of time.' [1]

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[1] Henry Mead: 'Friend of India' 25th June 1857 *Tract 505*. *John Cannon* in a letter to R. P. Mangles on defence of the Liberty of the Press in India wrote, 'There are some who think that we ought to have governed India by the dominance of race alone; we cannot govern India permanently in defiance of public opinion of the country. No government, no despotism is or can be permanently above the power of opinion; and *there is a passive resistance* of which the *Hindu race is peculiarly capable* that *no army however numerous or however brave, could of itself and by mere brute force overcome.*'

Statements of a highly provocative nature in the press in the year following the Mutiny brought about the promulgation of the Press Act by Lord Canning by which both the English and the Indian papers were gagged without any discrimination.[1] In a crisis like the Mutiny when law and security were threatened and the British Institutions in India were menaced, the moderation and political sagacity of Canning and Elphinstone were significant. Canning's policy led to the establishment of more newspapers in the country. Times Standard and Telegraph became Times of India in 1861. Pioneer of Allahabad was started in 1865 to be followed in 1868 by *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and Madras Mail. Some were moderate in tone, while others like the Hindu Patriot edited by Harish Chandra Mukherjee, and *Shome Prakash* edited by Dwarakanath Vidyabhushan and Iswarachandra Vidyasagar, were most aggressive in their espousal of the cause of the peasants and their grievances against landlordism and the government. This revealed what was now the complexion of the Indian papers, a departure from a discussion of religious and social topics which was the main feature of the vernacular press, to a critical examination of the political issues. An investigation in 1873 by Sir George Campbell revealed that there were thirty-eight Indian owned papers in Bengal alone, of which nineteen were edited within the limits of the city of Calcutta. These thirty-eight papers were :

Persian : Chus-me-Alem.
Akbar-al-Akbian.

[1] Act No. 15—1857 for the restriction of the liberty of the Press. XXIX. 1857 p 2. U.K. Govt. publication.

Jan Jehan Nama, Urdu guide.

All these Urdu papers were mostly edited by Hindus.

Other papers were :

Pallibari Darshan
Ras Gafter.
Tamluk Patrika — Cal.
Gramavarta Prakashika.
Gramvassi
Mahapap balya Bivaha.
Gram Dut.
Abala Bandhu.
Bala Ranjika.
Saptahib Paridarshak Samachar.
Hita Sadhini.
Gyan Bikashini.
Bisva Dut.
Sulaba Samachar.
Hindu Ranjika.
Bharat Samskarat.
Saptahik Sangvad.
Banga Bandhu.
Bharat Britya.
Doorbeen.
Samachar Chandrika and a few others.

It was reiterated that in the absence of representative institutions in the country, the vernacular papers were the only media through which the government could gauge changing public opinion with regard to social and political matters, and the fact that the press in India, English or Indian owned, always stood for

liberty, was not concealed.[1] The press in Indian languages was growing and besides Bengal, there were sixty-two papers in circulation in Bombay Presidency, Sixty in N. W. Frontier province, Nineteen in Madras, some with a circulation of more than 3000 a day, while the number of readers exceeded a lakh. It was difficult to estimate the extent of the people's acquaintance with papers on the basis of the number of circulation, for it was common practice for a large number to read papers by borrowing, as poverty precluded buying them daily. The motto of several papers was the liberty of the press as the palladium of civil, political and religious rights of the Indian, and the criticism of the administration was the cardinal feature, and the method of examination of governmental measures was

[1] "A Free Press" seems to be a natural concomitant of free institutions. It is, on the other hand, from its very nature antagonistic to despotic rule, and above all to foreign domination. As Sir Thomas Munro tersely expresses it 'a free press and the dominion of strangers, are things which are incompatible which cannot long exist together'.

Elphinstone. Minutes June 24, 1857.

Robert Knight stated 'If the government show no sympathy, is jealous of all appearance of consulting it, excludes it from all information upon subjects of current interest, shows no deference to public opinion, however reasonable, looks upon the press as faction, and inspired by no real desire for the public good and given neither the support nor the encouragement it might reasonably expect, then the want of representative institutions becomes unendurable and the whole press glides insensibly into an attitude of hostility to the government.'

Quoted by S. C. Sanial, in the Calcutta Review.
C. XXVII October 1908.

commended by enlightened civil servants of government and even by non-official Englishmen.[1] 'Pioneer' at Allahabad with which Rudyard Kipling was associated for a time, 'Tribune' and several other papers, partly Indian and partly English, reflected the new spirit of the middle classes who had learnt through the English language the story of British struggles for emancipation and also of their own historic past re-interpreted in the light of new influence from the West.[2]

These developments created suspicion in the government which was of opinion that an entirely free press was inconsistent with a despotic form of government which Indian government was to continue to be for some time. As the papers were unduly critical of administrative action, measures were to be taken to censure and muzzle them, in spite of appeals of journalists to leave them in the enjoyment of liberty of expression.

1 "People who increase their knowledge are sure to be discontented unless their power increases too; — and people who have acquired freedom of speech are likely to use their tongues without discretion."

Arthur Hobhouse, 10th August 1876 Minute.

Sir George Birdwood "The Native Press of India."

2 "The best English literature is the literature of discontent and opposition and attack; content indeed seldom finds expression in any literature but that in the national age of faith."

Society of Arts. March 23. 1877.

The vernacular Press Act IX of 1878 became law on March 14 through the pressure of Lord Salisbury though three members of his Council, Sir William Muir, Erskine Perry and Colonel Yule recorded minutes of dissent. Lord Lytton, the Viceroy too, was not in favour of fettering the press.[1] Mr. Gladstone was not in favour of the measure. The censorship clause was deleted, and to build a free, full and impartial press, a press commissioner was appointed charged with the duty of supplying the press with accurate information in regard to public measures, and also to be a channel of communication between the government and the press, English and Indian. The appointment of a commissioner to be the exponent to the whole press of India, of the inner meaning of the government policy, at a time when there was no right of interpellation in the Legislative Councils was significant.[2] Still, many of the papers including the Statesman rediculed the communications of the Commissioner, with the result, in a short time,

[1] By association, by temperament, by conviction, I should naturally find my place on the side of those to whom the free utteranee of thought and opinion is an inherited instinct and a national birthright. I should have rejoiced had it fallen ot my lot to enlarge rather than restrict the liberty of the press in India ; for *neither the existence nor the freedom of the press in this country is of native origin or growth. 'It is one of the many peculiarly British institutions which British rule has bestowed upon a population to whom it was previously unknown.'*

Lady Betty Balfour.

[2] Sir Lethbridge — Journal of East India Association, Vol. V. p 278. Lord Lytton's Administration, p. 310.

however beneficial the communications appeared to be, Lord Ripon was constrained to order the abolition of the post. The reasons for abolition were not very clear, for more than one hundred and twenty-four newspapers' editors and proprietors urged the government by a petition for the retention of the office.[1]

The Vernacular Press Act.

About 1875 newspapers were being printed in almost all the vernacular languages of the country, while in 1835 the active circulation did not exceed three hundred copies. A section of the press was definitely hostile to the administration and its principal topics were, 'the justice and tyranny of the government, its utter want of consideration towards its native subjects and the insolence and pride of Englishmen in India both official and non-official.'[2] Macaulay and Metcalfe while arguing strongly in favour of a free press had adverted to the possibility of circumstances arising which might compel the the government of the day to resort again to legislation of a restrictive character. The provisions of the Vernacular Press Bill were to apply only to one class of writers, namely, the writers of the vernacular press, and the measures were not to be so much a measure of penal as it was to be a measure of preventive legislation, and the machinery by which it was to work

1 Calcutta Review — Vol. CXXVII p. 386-7 Lucien Wolfe—Life of Lord Ripon, II 402-3.

2 Native Press Bill, 5th March 1878, Vol. XVII, 147-186. Legislative Council Proceedings.

was to be a machinery of checks rather than of penalties, since in the words of Dr. Alexander Arbuthnot, 'in every case of conviction being obtained, the political effect of such trials would be bad. They would be certain to create a good deal of excitement and would invest the accused with a fictitious importance in the eyes of their more ignorant countrymen which it is desirable to avoid'.[1]

Though the government was conscious that in all legislation, invidious distinctions between Europeans and native subjects should not be made, still it was considered necessary to make the distinction, because English papers were moderate in their expression, while the vernacular papers made libellous, malicious and calumnious attacks on the government. Besides, English being a learned language, English papers reached only an educated few, of whom a large percentage were servants of government, while vernacular

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[1] Translations of some quotations from vernacular papers are given here. 'Englishmen have the privilege of killing natives with impunity.' 'They are more mischievous to the natives than snakes and kill them with as much indifference as one kills a reptile.' Sulava Samachar, Vilasini, etc.,

'Neither the laws of Nature nor the civil laws of India provide any punishment for these Europeans who kill natives. All laws are applicable only to natives alone and not to the Europeans.' 'The English government in India is like a beautiful but unprincipled woman.'

Legislative Council Proceedings, Vol. XVII p 165.

'Free press is exotic which specially claims and needs from the hands that planted it, protecting shelter and fostering care.' —Lytton. L. C. Proceedings. XVII p. 178.

papers reached the ignorant and the unenlightened and thus promoted disaffection. John Strachy stated that 'liberty of press meant liberty of discussion' liberty for the free expression of thought and opinion and that liberty did not mean unbridled license'. But, the very frank utterances of the vernacular papers proved that the administration was autocratic and that the servants of government and non-official Englishmen and planters were unprincipled, arrogant and callous, occasionally indulging in sadistic impulses against the natives, and that the government was protecting them in iniquity in enacting legislation of a sinister order.

As a result of the passing of the Native Press Act bilingual papers took to publication only in English, as a matter of expediency with a view to express their resentment against such a measure that was unwarranted. New Associations, and papers like the 'Hindu' were started to represent the true state of the condition of the masses to the government, to get grievances redressed and to suggest the best means for the exploitation of native energy for the country.[1] It was soon discovered that the measure was injudiciously being enacted and Lord Ripon's Government favoured the repeal of the Press Act. The Act IX of 1878 dealt with two separate questions,[2] so for as seditious meetings were concerned; vernacular publications in British India, vernacular publications printed elsewhere and imported

[1] Hindu Silver Jubilee Supplement 1903, 21 Sept.

[2] Seditious Publication Bill : Legislative Council Proceedings XX 1881, p 225-238.

into India. As Sec. 19 of the Sea Customs Act of 1878 and Section 15 of Indian Police Act had given power to the Government to stop the import of any objectionable publication, it was considered by the Council of Lord Ripon to leave untouched the law as it had stood before the passing of the Act IX of 1878. The Seditious Publication Bill introduced by Mr. Gibbs in 1882 was to allow threatening writings to be dealt with by the ordinary law, as expressed in Codes on offences against the State, as defamation, criminal intimidation or annoyance, and to place such offences under the cognisance of ordinary tribunals.[1] The ordinary law with the special sanction of the Penal Code 124 A, bringing or attempting to bring into hatred or contempt the government or excite disaffection or promote feelings of enmity between the different communities— turned out to be the sole instrument for controlling printers and editors, though comments on governmental measures with a view to modify them or alter them through constitutional means were not regarded as cognisable offences. There was no workable law of seditious libel in India, and sedition always baffled definition, thus preventing detection and punishment.[2] Many editors escaped conviction, though

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[1] Legislative Council Proceedings XXI, p 40-48.

[2] 'The Council must remember that not fewer than 230 journals were regularly published in the native languages and not one of them was brought under the operation of the Act. The press was the chief organ of representation in India. It was *a parliament always in session* and to which every native was eligible. The only true remedy for the dangers of popular ignorance was the spread of Popular education, therefore in

on one occasion Surendranath Banerji was sentenced to two months imprisonment for contempt of Court.[1] Undaunted by persecution many more enterprising men like Babu Jogendranath Bose and Babu Kristo Kumar Mitter founded *Bangabasi* and *Sanjivini* papers.

The newspapers were pre-eminently a venture of the Middle Classes. It must be said that the newspapers in spite of limited resources, lack of iron-printing and other handicaps, hazards of enterprise, unprofitableness of undertaking, certainty of punishment for frank and courageous expression, were maintained, and that they inspired the editors for service, for, a paper served to give the editors a standing and an influence in society which was a sufficient recompense for losses sustained. An attempt was made to give solid instruction to the people who were ignorant; and the editors by frank comments and criticism of governmental policy built a pattern of public opinion which was to fortify the national demand for self-government later.

The Press in India was a general educator supplying the people wanting in educational opportunity, the necessary information for self-development. A band of noble workers from Buckingham to Robert Knight,

emancipating the press, if the government could also see its way to, more widely, educate the people, it would send forth liberty not alone upon her travels, but liberty and security hand in hand.'

Hunter: Seditious Publication Bill, L.C,Pub XXI.47.

W. R. Donough: The History and Law of Sedition, p. 74-79.

[1] Surendranath Banerji: 'A Nation in the Making' p 84.

Stocqueler of 'The Englishman', Chesney, editor of 'The Pioneer'. were as great teachers of Indian opinion as the editor of 'The Hindu,' Vijayaraghavachari, and Harish Chandra Mukherji, Sham Kumar Ghose, and Motilal Ghose of *Amritabazar Patrika*, and several others. The Press was a British institution and was pressed into service during the seventyfive years of its existence, for the education of the masses. Growing knowledge of what was going on in other parts of the world, and an eageness to advance and keep step with the developing currents of thought elsewhere together with a desire to preserve the integrity of its own culture and civilisation, intense political conviction and purposes leading to a demand for self-government-all these altered the tone and character of the newspapers from 1880 onwards.

With the growth of national consciousness and the birth of the National Congress, the papers became predominantly political : and as the government could not be removed, and was slow to change, the papers had to employ the language and methods of criticism often untenable, with the hope of coercing the government to modify its character as to keep in touch with the changing and progressive thought of India and other parts of the world. It was the hostility to governmental measures, bitterness at the frustration of hope, and the burning conviction and sincerity of purpose that made European and Indian politics the chief concern of the newspapers of the day.

One of the first instances of pronounced political character of editorial writings, was to be discovered in

the publication of confidential documents concerning the administration of Bhopal and Kashmir by the Calcutta paper *Amrit Bazar Patrika* in 1880. So alarming was the disclosure that the government was persuaded to pass the Official Secrets Act[1] on October 9, 1889 to prevent the disclosure of official documents and information. In so doing, the Government in India was keeping in step with English law, for, just then, the Official Secrets Act had been passed in the Houses of Parliament.[2] The offences which the measure intended to reach were the wrongful obtaining of information in regard to any matter of State importance, and secondly, the wrongful communication of such information; and the offence would be aggravated when committed by a servant of government, contrary to his official duty.

During the Viceroyalty of Lord Elgin, an amendment was made to the sedition section of the Indian Penal Code. The subversive propaganda that was done in the Press in 1896 accusing the administration for "interfering with the liberty and privacy of householders when plague was raging," led to the govern-

1 Legislative Council Proceedings, Vol. XXVII, Act 9 1889

It is a mere re-enactment of an Act which was passed during the last session of Parliament to prevent the disclosure by unauthorised persons of official documents and information. .... In Indian law the technical distinction between felonies and misdemeanors, which survives in the Criminal Law of England has not been maintained .... but in other aspects the Bill follows the language of the English Statute.

2 Legislative Council Proceedings Vol, XXVIII 1889, p. 256.7, p. 270.276.

ment to revise the Penal Code so as to enable it to deal legally with any emergency. Though the administration was acting in the best interests of the community in preventing the spread of the disease, its policy was construed as an infringement of privacy, and several papers as *Kesari* wrote highly inflammable articles to excite the people. The essential feature of the Act of 1878 was executive control over the writings of the vernacular press, and the government in 1896 did not desire to re-enact a press law similar to the Vernacular Press Act, because they saw no reason for drawing a distinction between the vernacular press and any other press; and secondly, as they welcomed all fair, candid and honest criticism, they had no desire to control it.[1] The other alternative was to amend the the general law relating to sedition and cognate offences so as to make it efficient.

Fitz James Stephen in introducing the Penal Code in 1870 had desired to assimilate the law of India to the law of England as regards the offence of sedition. Section 124 A was to be modified accordingly. The term 'disaffection' was meant to include disloyalty and all feelings of enmity or ill will; but, 'comments on the measures of government with a view to obtain their alteration by lawful means without exciting hatred, contempt or disaffection did not constitute an offence.'[2] It was stated that the people were at liberty to criticise the action and conduct of the

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1 Legislative Council Proceedings. Vol. XXXVII, 1897, p. 379.

2 'We want simply a free press that will not transgress the laws of the land.' Chalmers, p 381.

government, and to bestir themselves to procure reforms and to obtain such alterations of the law as they may think desirable, provided they did so by lawful and constitutional means. Several members of the Council and even of the European community appreciated the peculiar position of the Indian press and treated with distrust and suspicion any newspaper constantly expatiating on the blessings of English rule, and urged their countrymen to look to native writers for criticism of governmental measures and of government servants.[1]

The newspapers, in spite of these new governmental regulations were not to be intimidated in frank and op n criticisms of governmental policy. The Ilbert Bill of 1883, the birth of the National Congress in 1885, the India Council's Act of 1892 giving the right to Indians to choose their own representatives from approved public bodies and constituencies, the constitution of the legislature, the spread of knowledge of science and technology-all combined to make the content of the papers predominantly political. Academic discussions about the bearing of science on industry, the Indian Legislative Council's debates, and the speeches of public men and of members of the legislature became the subject of comment in the papers. *

[1] Legislative Council Proceedings Vol. XXXVIII 1897 Amendment of the Indian Penal Code. p 381.—

'No press in the world enjoyed such latitude in the expression of opinion, and over so large a field none so fragrantly abused its freedom.' Alfred Watson,
Asiatic Review 1933, p 259.

Till the last decade of the nineteenth century, the centre of discussion was—the progress of English liberalism and politics, British statesmen and their political doctrines and their Irish policy, as well as the frontier-policy of the Viceroys from Canning to Elgin, and Russia's designs on India, and weekly summaries of leading articles of daily papers and comments on technical subjects.[1] Illustrations were an innovation and the advent of illustrations into journalism was marked by the Times of India, Bombay, issuing from 1900 onwards—The Times of India Illustrated weekly.

Lord Curzon's authoritarian administration between 1901 and 1903 tended to the reorganization of public opinion which was hitherto sympathetic but critically constructive of governmental policy. There was now the amendment of the Indian Official Secrets Act of 1889, thus giving undefined and complete authority to the government, to prosecute editors of native newspapers, and to discriminate between them and the

1 Pat Lowett. Journalism in India p 9.

Shirley Tremearne founded the 'Capital' in 1888 dealing primarily with economic and financial matters. Mr. Pat Doyle started the journal of Engineering. The Asian, and Indian Planters' Gazette devoted themselves to sports journalism. Mr. G. A. Natesan began his Indian Review, while N. C. Kelkar became the editor of *Kesari* and *Mahratta*; Sacchidanand Sinha founded *Kayastha Samachar* in 1899. C. Y. Chintamani became the editor of *Pioneer* of Allahabad K. C. Roy devoted himself to the examination of the growing political thought in the country culled out from speeches and writings of leading politicians in India.

P. 43-44.

editors of Anglo-Indian Papers which had now become pro-governmental. The press which could be the custodian of public interests, and by its vigilance could regulate the conduct of administration which was subject to no popular control,[1] was now stifled, and for the first time, a distinction was made between liberty of the Press as was enjoyed in Britain and in India. The Hindu, The Bengalee, Indian Spectator, *Bombay Samachar*, *Rast Gafter* were now some of the leading native papers ranged against the more powerful and vigourous English dailies and Weeklies, as the Madras Mail, The

1 Legislative Council Proceedings XLII 1903. Hon. Mr. Gokhale of the Indian Council consisting of Rai Bahadur, B. K. Bose, H. H. Aga Khan, and Mr. Cruikshank, stated on the Indian Official Secrets Bill as follows 'The Englishman in a recent issue describes the Bill as calculated to Russianise the Indian Administration and says that it is inconceivable that such an enactment can be placed on the Statute Book even in India. The Bill proposes to make three principal changes in the old Act (1) it proposes to place civil matters on a level with military and naval matters ; (2) whoever without lawful authority or permission goes to a government office for the purpose of wrongfully obtaining information commits an offence under the Act ; (3) it is proposed to make all offences under the Act cognisable and not bailable. This measure is intended to make the publication of even the most trivial news in connection with this vast civil administration of the country penal.' p. 271.

"The responsibility of the government to the people in this country is merely moral—it is not legal as in the West. There is no machinery to secure that the interests of the general public will not be sacrificed in favour of a class. The criticism of the Indian Press is the only outward check operating continuously upon the conduct of a bureaucracy, possessing absolute and uncontrolled power." p 281.

Englishmen, Indian Daily News, Times of India, Civil and Military Gazette, Pioneer, Statesmen, The Associated Press with Bucks and Coates as its first directors.[1] The question of the Partition of Bengal, the famine, the agrarian situation in the Punjab and general unrest led to an attitude of uncompromising hostility and the adoption of a policy of economic and political boycott of everything English.[2] There was now a persistent demand for inclusion of Indians in the Viceregal Council and of the Secretary of State, and for self-government on the model of Dominion Constitutions. But the Indian leaders were sharply divided as regards the nature and rate of constitutional advance.

At such a psychological moment, Lord Minto realised the desirability of appeasing that section of the educated classes which was loyal and moderate in its views; and thereby by such a policy frustrate the political aspirations of the extremists. The radical elements of the Congress party were becoming impatient of the Moderates' attachment to constitutional forms of agitation, and manifested their uneasiness and unrest on the platform and in daily and weekly papers like *Kesari*, *Desa Sevak*, *Bengalee* and others. The government took an alarmist view of the situation and enacted the Seditious meeting Bill, to make better provision for the prevention of meetings likely to promote sedition or to cause a disturbance of public tranquility. This Bill was founded on and was a sequel to the Regulation of

[1] Pat Lovett. Journalism in India p. 44.

[2] S. C. Sanial: Calcutta Review Vol. CXXX 1911 p. 23 Vol. CXXIV to CXXX 1907-12.

Meetings Ordinance of 1907. The chief object of the ordinance was not to prohibit public meetings, but to insure that British Officers should have admission to all public meetings so that evidence may be available if the proceedings were unlawful. But the term 'public meetings' was not defined, and it was difficult to say in general terms where an exact line of demarcation lay between private and public meetings.[1] But the government all along had recognised that unrest was not solely the outcome of seditious agitation but had its basis on the natural aspirations of educated Indians; and accordingly, to meet these aspirations and to associate Indians more closely in the administration of the country, they formulated 'a large and generous scheme of reform' which was now before the public for criticism. But the evil that had been done and was being done by disloyal agitators had made it necessary to deal with this section of irreconcilables and 'to continue the principles of the ordinance as 'substantive law.'[2]

[1] Meetings of some hundreds of persons held without notice in private places were to all intents and purposes 'public meetings. Similarly, a meeting held in a proclaimed area and consisting of more than 20 persons, shall *primafacie* be presumed to be public meeting.'

[2] Sir Henry Adamson—Legis. Council Proceedings XLVI 1907-8, p 22.32.4.

'The difference in substance between the Ordinance and the bill is that in the latter, we have introduced a clause prohibiting under a penalty, the delivery of speeches likely to cause disturbance or illfeeling or speeches on political matters, or the exhibition of writing relating to such subjects in public places, in proclaimed areas without the permission of the proper authority. p. 24.

The application of the Act for the whole of India was widely resented and non-official members of Council stoutly opposed the measure as inexpedient and illtimed. Mr. Gokhale said 'the bulk of the educated classes in India feel that their aims and activities have been most cruelly misrepresented before the British Public ... Exaggerated importance has been attached to the utterances of visionaries and advantage has been taken of every accidental circumstance to represent an agitation for reform as a movement for revolt'—Possessing no personal knowledge of the people of the country and overwhelmed with a sense of the vast responsibility of that office,—vision obscured,—sense of proportion warped, he (The Secretary of State) has spoken in the House of Commons that India is on the eve of dark disaster.[1] The native papers stated that Lord Curzon's

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[1] Legis. Council Proceedings LXVI 1907-8 p 25 1st. Nov 1907 p 36 48.

" This Act, if passed would prove the grave of all our political aspirations ; put down disorder by all means, the civil sword is at present strong enough for that purpose, but do not kill the free play of thought or the free expression of it. In the organ tones of Milton which may still be heard across the countries, that would be, the slaying of an immortality rather than a life." Rash Behari Ghosh pleaded further " The liberty to know, to utter and to argue freely according to conscience is a liberty above all liberties. England needs no policies. no strategems, no licensings to make her victorious. It is to this freedom of discussion that England owes among other blessings, the abolition of the slave trade and slavery, Catholic Emancipation, Parliamentary Reform and repeal of the Corn Laws. It is said that we are intoxicated with the new wine of freedom that Locke and Milton, Fox and Burke, Bright and

reactionary policy, his attempt to explain away the Queen's Proclamation, his unwise Convocation speech at Calcutta, the repressive measures of government, the deportation of Lala Lajapat Rai, the arrest of and prosecution of Rawalpindi pleaders and of Lala Hansraj on a charge of inciting to violence and conspiracy against the Crown, and the public meetings' ordinance,– had all produced intense exasperation throughout the country. The non-official members of the Council like Mr. Gokhale, Dr. Rash Behari Ghosh and the public regarded the Bill as an indictment of the whole nation and that instead of facilitating the work of the administration, would in all probability enhance the very evil which it was intended to control. 'In no country of the world was freedom restricted by such Ordinances, while in U. S. A. the Constitution had provided that Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech, of the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.' These were some of the opinions expressed by the Indian Press too; and some sections of the press warned the government in unmistakable terms. "The logic of coercion we all know, is charming in its simplicity; but its authors forgot that they cannot coerce thought. They cannot make men loyal by a legislative enactment."

Macaulay have poured into our minds. I trust I am no dreamer of dreams. I see that what is passing before us is a social and political evolution, you may guide it but yon cannot arrest it any more than you can make to-day like yesterday." Rash Behari Ghosh.

Legislative Council Proceedings. 1st Nov. 1907 p 49-84.

In spite of national opposition, the bill became law. Then, "The Newspapers incitements to offences Bill" was followed by B. G. Tilak's campaign in *Kesari* against the government, and by bomb outrages ; *Kesari Desasevak, Yugantar, Sandhya* and several other papers indulged in highly provocative language which incited violence.[1] The type of sedition which they preached was an incitement to subversion of British rule by deeds of violence and the policy of the newspaper was to court prosecution in order to create pseudo-martyrs and thus enlist sympathy on the side of anarchy and incidentally prepare 'the ground for the increase of circulation of the newspapers by pandering to the tastes of the depraved'. The Bill was not directed against sedition which meant 'an attempt to bring into hatred or contempt or to excite disaffection towards the government established by law in India', but, to provide a more effective way than prosecution for attempts through newspapers to incite to murder.

The bill was a supplement to prosecution and it put an end to the existence of violent newspapers by empowering the authorities to take judicial action against the editor of any newspaper which published matter which was tantamount to an incitement to rebellion. Adamson while introducing the Bill stated that "the Bill is not directed against the liberty of the press. It curtails no liberty that is legitimate.' The President and the Council seemed to have felt, that

[1] Several samples of violent writings are cited in Legislative Council Proceedings XLII, p.11-15. 1908.

outside influence was at the bottom of outrages and assassination; and the fear of Russian intervention which had all along been a feature in British administration of India, since the resumption of sovereignty by the Crown, seemed to have dictated the government's frontiers and internal policy.[1] The preventive effect of the Act was most marked throughout India, but further outrages compelled the government to introduce the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Bill on 11th December 1908.

The objects of the Bill were two-fold; to obtain prompter decision of criminal cases of a complex nature arising out of an anarchist conspiracy, and to obtain an effective way of dealing with criminal Associations or *Samitis* outwardly professing to be devoted to laudable objects but largely used for the forcible boycott of foreign goods and for terrorising the community.[2] At the same time, the Minto-Morley Reforms in 1909 enlarged the Legislative Council and the number of elected members. Separate electorates were instituted and an Indian was appointed to the

[1] "The conspiracy with which the government had to deal, represented nothing of the sort that assassination is merely the effort of a down-trodden people struggling to free itself from a foreign oppression. To the best of my belief that it has largely emanated from sources beyond the confines of India. Its anarchical aims and the outrageous doctrines it inculcates are entirely new to this country" Lord Minto.

Legis. Council. Proceedings LVIII 1908 p 16.

[2] Legislative Council Proceedings LVIII 1908 December p 51.

Viceroy's Council. The Anglo-Indian papers warmly supported the Reforms, while the extremists and followers of Tilak, Bepin Chandra Pal, Upadhyaya, Aurobindo Ghosh, Lala Lajpat Rai who were all in jail, were extremely critical of the new reforms, and they launched a country-wide seditious movement.[1] As prosecution had produced no permanent improvement in the tone of the press, and the continued recurrence of murders and outrages required strong measures, fresh legislation was enacted in 1910 to provide for the better control of the press.

The freedom of the press which the country had enjoyed for over three quarters of a century had been much attenuated already by the amendment of the Penal law, by special legislation, to deal with seditious meetings and to put down incitement to violence. Executive action was associated with judicial action, and the executive was empowered by the new Bill to order the forfeiture of security and confiscate the press for seditious publications. The discretion of the executive was substituted for the rights of publicity, audience and appeal. The accused was now required to prove that he was innocent which was a gross violation of the first principles of jurisprudence; the High Court had no power to question the discretion of the executive, while the Act humiliated the intelligentsia of the country by asking the journalists to furnish security at the discretion of the executive which

[1] Sir Pheroz Shah Mehta, Sir Dinshaw Wacha and Mr. Gokhale and other Moderates were for constitutional development along the lines of reform suggested by the Scheme.

could take, in cases of failure of security, being furnished, punitive action.

The nature of the legislation and the manner of its administration both roused protests on the part of Sinha and Mr. Gokhale and the Indian Press though both of them supported the measure in the belief that it was temporary. The application of the Act immediately led to a number of publications in each province being proscribed. Lord Minto in a statement on January 25 1910 remarked 'we can no longer tolerate the preachings of a revolutionary press. We are determined to bridle literary license'.

The statement of publications proscribed in each province under the Indian Press Act included pamphlets, Books and Newspapers.

Pamphlets.

Choose Oh Indian Princes! *Bande Mataram* of Berlin. Photographs of Vande Matarams and *Sat ang Swaraj.* Aryamata; Khalsa pamphlets. Photographs of Nationalists. Yugantar. Mazzini's autobiography by Savarkar. *Mela* Songs by V. D Savarkar. Speeches of Tilak and Paranjape. Speeches of D. S. Valve. *Swadeshi Bakhar.* Sindhi Arabic book. O Martyrs! Challenge Statement. Humanity love. Pictorial India of to-day A. R. Bhagvat. Sophia Begum. *Yugantar Jai Bandemataram. Marma Bali Hai Vartamana Rana Niti.* Dhotis Having the poem 'Farewell Mother on the borders'. Kumar Singh. Methods of Indian Police in the 20th century by Mackarness. *Shahid aur Sanyasi ki Awaz. Hindustani-ki-halat Mazia.*

Books:

A war of Independence by V. D. Savarkar. Hind Swarajya by M. K. Gandhi. Universal Dawn. Mustafa Kemal's Speech. The defence of Socrates. *Vijayatorana* A play.

The statement of proscribed books indicates how widespread was the disaffection in the Country due to the promulgation of the Act. There was further provocation by the introduction of another bill by Jenkins on 6th August 1910 to provide for the continuance of the prevention of Seditious meetings Act of 1907. Mr. Gokhale, the leader of the moderate party stated that it was intolerable that the whole country should be indiscriminately placed under such Draconian legislation, while the Indian press which had been gagged had been a potent instrument of progress, had quickend national consciousness, stimulated public spirit, set higher standards of public duty and had spread ideas of justice and equality not only between man and man but between class and class.[1] Nabab Abdul Majid, Kunwar Sir Ranbir Singh, R. N. Mudholkar, Hayat Khan and Mr. Sinha and Mr. Gokhale, members of the Legislative Council were of the opinion that disaffection in the country was more the outcome of ignorance and from a feeling of frustration that grievances had not been re-

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Kichaka Vadha A play. *Sree Krishna Shristi* play. The state of our country by L. V. Bhopatkar. *Mukti Mantra*. Social conquest of the Hindu Race by Har Dayal. *Eka Shloki Geeta Holoki*. Victory of Tilak. B. C. Pal's Speeches, etc.

Newspapers:

Talwar or Shumsher. Gaelic American. Indian Sociologist. Bandemataram, a newspaper of Geneva. Free Hindusthan.

Appendix to the Indian Press Act 1910.
Legislative Council Proceedings, Vol. XLIX.

1 Legislative Council Proceedings XLIX p 30-32.

dressed than from any actual hostility to British rule itself.[1]

The Moderates supported the measure with the conviction that true patriotism ought to be directed not so exclusively to political advancement as towards raising the moral tone of the people,[2] and with a warning to the government that while preventive and punitive provisions of the law were sufficient, recourse to exceptional and dangerous legislation as this would be subversive of law and order. "It has been one of the cardinal principles of freedom, and an important practical security for freedom of political utterance, that man shall not be prevented from writing and publishing what he likes by any interference by an executive official but only restrained by the dread of punishment. Maintenance of this security is indispensable if the people are to get the advantage of free criticism of the acts of the executive. Since the question whether such criticism has kept within the legal limits laid down for it, is too delicate a one to be left to the judgment of the persons criticised." [3]

While the repeal of the Act was being demanded all over the country the government recommended the

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[1] Legislative Council Proceedings XLIX p 32-39.

[2] ,, ,, ,, XLIX p 41.

[3] Babu Bhupendranath Basu stated that the Hindus cradled in the religion of Vedanta and Upanishads look not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen. For the day the defeat may be ours, but the races rise and cluster, the evils fade and fall, till chaos blooms into beauty God's purpose crowning all."

Legislative Council Proceedings XLIX p 49.

formation of a separate Lieutenant Governorship for Bihar and Orissa and the transfer of the Imperial Capital from Calcutta to Delhi, and these measures were thought would conduce to the better administration of India and conciliate the peoples of India. The subsequent history of the press till the close of the first world war is concerned with the conditions of Indians in South Africa where Mahatma Gandhi was carrying on a struggle against racial discrimination. The Press Act was repealed in 1922, and it is the ordinary law now that governs and regulates the freedom of the press.



CHAPTER IV

NATURE OF OPINION IN INDIA IN 1875.

It has been indicated in the previous chapters that the real history of the nineteenth century has been the conflict and commingling of ideas. The Age witnessed a great transition in ideas, and a great alteration in the social, religious and political standpoints. It was natural that with the spread of English education which has been the solvent of old ideas, the idea of individual freedom and the feeling of nationality should grow and social ideas undergo a rapid change. Students of European history have often speculated what the Renaissance of the 16th century would have done, had it been unaccomplished by the Reformation. But in India, at the close of the century one witnesses the marvellous spectacle of a Renaissance being accomplished without the tiresome bother of a Reformation. It may be noted that the new Indian consciousness that manifested itself after 1875, resented any fundamental departure from the old social and religious ideas.

The press, as is already indicated, had turned out to be the educator of the masses, and as a political tutor at a time when parliamentary and representative institutions were conspicuously absent. There are few events in the world like printing, and the whole gigantic swing of modern democracy and of the scientific spirit was released by it. Professor Smith has said that 'the reading public became the Supreme

Court before whom all cases had to be argued. The conflict of opinions and parties, of privilege and freedom, of science and obscurantsm, was transferred from the secret chamber of a small, privileged, professional and sacerdotal *coterie* to the arena of the reading public '.[1] Some of the newspapers during the period had developed an attitude of intellectual dogmatism, arrogance and intolerance, and quietly found themselves in the inevitable dilemma of fighting for commercial success, and for domestic causes, freedom of speech and expression, internal reforms—constitutional and social. As they could not logically be expected to perpetuate social reform and enlightenment consistent with an inordinate desire for profit, several of the papers were unable to maintain a high standard of ethics and demand the government to foster intelligent and honest public opinion for the furtherance of truth and justice. Public opinion could not exist in an autocracy, for it would be effective precisely to the extent that it could freely align itself with one or another of the groups of men daily participating in government; and it was the very essence of autocracy that his alignment should be limited to the power-finding group. As in an autocratic state, the government has the appearance of being perennial and the governors appear as the state in perpetuity, there was, for [illegible] practical purposes, no opposing factions with wh[illegible] the public could align themselves to effect chan[illegible] The disaffec[illegible] among the people could find hop[illegible] only in revoluti[illegible] while the autocrats by hiding th[illegible] [illegible]position coul[illegible] [illegible]ucceed

[1] Smith: The Age of th[illegible] [illegible]mation, p [illegible]

in outlawing public opinion. Under such circumstances, public opinion as an effective force for the production of change by legal methods could not make much headway. As the processes of printing improved, as reading ability extended among the citizens, as the means of transportation became better and more newspapers appeared to fulfil the function of giving access to the sources of political news, the voices of those who desired to participate directly in government, extended and thus neutralised the rigidity of bureaucratic government.

Till the last quarter of the 19th century very little attention was paid to the sources of political information, and the will of the people was treated as if unrelated to the theory of government ; and news gathering about the bureaucracy and its ramifications was not considered as a part of the political process. The emergence of constitutional government coincided with the growth of the press, which was now the best weapon to restrain the government, by starting a platform of political discussion. It was the first time that press as the fourth estate emerged as politically decisive and the educated middle classes perceived that long as was the arm of law, it could not not reach and adjust the inner workings of society which had now partly to supplement the government and partly to oppose it, for a clear definition of the individual's relation with the government.

The Era of Tutelage had gone and the Era of communion had begun. The advancing Indian community of the middle classes had to work out this

wonderful transformation, in the sphere of social system, politics and religion. Middle class opinion was public opinion during the last quarter of the nineteenth century and in the beginning of the twentieth.

An attempt is made in this chapter to show the nature of the group mind and how far group opinion is public opinion. The group mind does not denote a unity, but a tissue of operative psychological forces which in their higher developments crystalise into unity. It is a complex of many influences. It varies with the nature of the influences that are at work at any given moment of time, as both the rational and the irrational impulses determine the formation of the social mind. The press and platform, custom and usages are at best only so many indicators of the influences at work and do not express the social mind. They may represent, misrepresent or even anticipate the influences that contribute to its formation. The survival of groups is measured not in terms of physical being but in terms of their social values. Those groups survive within which the social instincts conducive to survival are stronger and the consciousness of kind more definite. The mass of ideas to which the individual in a group is subjected to, may be described as 'Group mind'. L. T. Hobhouse says, 'it is simply an expression for the mass of ideas operative in a society communicable from man to man and serving to direct the thought and action of individuals. The kind of unity that attaches to the social mind is not definable in general terms.' [1] This unity or ethos varies from

[1] L. T. Hobhouse: Social evolution and political theory, 1932 p 97-98.

institution to institution. In the more complex societies, there are many institutions, social, economic, religious and political, each with its distinctive ethos. The individual in progressive societies belongs to more than one institution ; and accordingly, he is subject to influences of this kind from more than one quarter.

Human activity in so far as it is not unconscious is largely coloured by the selective process, with the result that certain ideas wield a dominant sway over other ideas. Similarly, in a society it is only through the predominating members of the group that the group itself can have its being ; otherwise it is a pack or a horde, but the predominance is not physical or mental but social in the sense that the impulses and aspirations of the leaders are the impulses and aspirations of the group to which they belong. When leaders faithfully interpret the hopes and fears, struggles and aspirations of the masses, and when there is a complete identity between their thought and action and those of the masses, in the interest of group welfare, then, there is the emergence of the Group mind.

The individual is born in some family, social class and political community and into some social and cultural heritage. Since his birth in the group he is faced with customs and usages and standards set up by his ancestors, consecrated with age and crystallised into a pattern of living from which he cannot escape. Macdougall says, 'the idea of the group is within the individual mind and the group therefore is a

psychological phenomenon'. On every question and problem likely to arise in the group, the individual likewise is faced with answers given, solutions premeditated and attitudes fixed from which he cannot get away. It requires the greatest mental and moral effort for any to do away with their fixed standards of morality, and the age of transition is usually marked by efforts at a recreation of the traditions and customs of the group in terms of modern ideas. It is a profound physiological truth that each succeeding generation is organically connected with the preceding generation, that customs which seem obsolete now, at one time served useful purpose in the order of evolution, that every man physically and mentally is as much a child of the past as he is a parent of the future. In every man as well as in every generation of men, there is an element of change, and an element of stability, a tendency to live the life, his forefathers lived before him, and a tendency to strike out fresh variations from that life. Every civilisation thus is burdened with precedents, customs and traditions and the magnitude of the burden is commensurate with its antiquity. The group mind then, is social or group inheritance, and is not something external to the individual but an organic product.

It is intended to show here that public opinion is Group opinion and therefore group judgment is very often the judgment of the community. The public is not a mere group or social class according to some thinkers. There is a tendency to identify 'public' with political and legal considera-

tions and to believe that all opinion that relates to governments or State is public opinion. The 'public' may be defined as those who can influence the conduct of government, in which case the concept deals with the expression of opinion rather than with the nature of the public. It is not clear whether the term public consists of those upon whom the incidence of governmental action falls or those who actively participate in government. A broad definition of the term 'Public' would be a body of persons owing allegiance to the State, or those who have a legal duty of obedience'. Again, the public may be those who are willing to pay attention to the news of the State, and mere spectators who are not judges of the merit of the question. Though it is commonly agreed that the essential problem in the concept of public is participation, Walter Lippman and people of his school of thought, are firmly convinced of the ineffectiveness of the masses in dealing with the 'unseen environment'.[1] It is also said that the public are those who are willing to abide by the decisions of the majority, and the most important condition necessary for the existence of the public is a basic homogeneity of view in the treatment of questions where decision by practical action is possible.[2] The Public therefore necessarily implies some scheme of participation. It is said also that public opinion to be a force must admit freedom of choice between two or more possible lines

[1] Walter Lippman : The Phantom Public.

[2] A. J. Lowell : Public opinion and Popular government, N.Y. 1913.

of conduct. Opinion is an idea or ideas which determine choice as between dissimilar views, and its effectiveness rests on the deliberative freedom in man immune from the control of all external and psychological forces or innate ideas. Further, an opinion or idea tends towards realisation by virtue of the mere fact that it is conceived. From a dynamic point of view, then, opinion constitutes a movement of ideas towards rules, regulations, customs and even legislation.[1] It is argued that the public is not a group or a social class, that its members belong to various groups and social classes, and that public opinion is the intelligence, taste, the temper and moral feelings of the individual citizens.[2] The Public is the highest form of association in which all the interests are so evenly balanced that something approaching unity of purpose can be found. By public opinion a unity of views pervading a given society as a whole is thus postulated.

It can easily be seen that there is no such unity of purpose among the public nor is there any balancing of interests of the different groups except on specific matters. Anarchists cannot be balanced against State Socialists without one of them ceasing to be itself. Besides, a monist State with a central unity is a fiction. The State is a congeries of groups and the allegiance which a member of a group owes to his group is more real and effective than his allegiance to the State or society. Hence, it is the group mind or social mind

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1 W. E. Hocking: Man and the State. 1936. p 316.

2 Viscount Bryce: Modern Democracies. Vol. 1, p 430.

which has a real existence and public opinion representing a unity pervading society as a whole is a figment of the imagination. That is the reason why sociological speculation makes the word 'public' synonymous with 'group' and public opinion with group opinion. Group opinion is called social opinion when it consists of the traditional view of groups, and group coherence built on the basis of other than contemporary events makes it social rather than public. But social opinion or group opinion is public opinion when current events rather than arbitrary standards and traditions become the controlling factor in directing activities, and when interests become organised as groups on a functional rather than on a traditional basis.

Interested groups become public with reference to special undertakings, as the term Public simply describes the group aspects of opinion. Ideas and sentiments accumulated through the experience of long generations give to the group mind a fuller and a richer content than that to an individual mind, and group consciousness as the highest form of psychic life tends to absorb the individual mind, to mould the individual in accordance with the traditions and experiences of his group. Every group has its characteristic type of mind, and this controls the individual by its institutions and customs. Opinions do not become public by their content or because of the way by which a person reaches them; opinions become public, because they involve the existence of a group or groups.

Secondly, the mind of the group is changeful and dynamic. It is possible to see in the evolution of group-culture, values as fixed but with a changing application as material culture alters, but it is doubtful whether material culture gives more than the vaguest outline of the change in social ethics that should accompany the advance of material culture. The group mind has an element of permanence and pervasiveness to the extent, that modes of individual action and manners of thinking are organised and dictated by the group and its institutions.

Society is a complex of interest groups and the state or government exists to reconcile and control the resultant conflict of interests. Sometimes, the majority of these interests combine for the time being for the accomplishment of common objectives. In matters like the preservation of law and order, in what are called 'guaranteed norms' there is no clash of interests, no collision of motives, and no opposition between the individual and the collective interest. Everyday conception of public opinion is the social mind, and public opinion at any one time is the mind of the interested group.

There are certain factors which determine the opinions and beliefs of groups. These are race, traditions, institutions and education. The power of tradition is such that no element can pass from one people to another without undergoing the most profound transformations. Environment, circumstances aed events represent the social suggestions of the moment, but this influence is temporary only, if it be

contrary to the suggestions of the race, that is, to those which are inherited by a group from the entire series of its ancestors.[1] Traditions are the synthesis of the inherent dispositions, and weigh upon the group with immense force. Neither national genius nor civilisation would be possible without traditions. The ideal for a people, in consequence, is to preserve the institutions of the past, and to merely change and adapt them insensibly and little by little. Similarly, the institutions and governments are the product of the race and they are the outcome of ideas, sentiments, traditions and customs of the group. It is not in the institutions alone, that the means is to be sought of profoundly influencing the genius of the masses. Peoples are governed by their character, and all institutions which are not intimately modelled on that character are short-lived. Institutions of a group are often found to engender upheavals reacting on the mind of the group, but closer analysis shows that it is illusions and words with power to evoke images fascinating the group that have sway over the mind of the group. It is well-known that a party in a State appeals most strongly not to reason, but to the irrational and fixed prejudices of its members to gain its ends, and the opinion of its members is formed mostly by exploitation of their subconscious inferences.

The other factor that underlies all beliefs and opinions of the group is economic interest. Action springs from the human will, but it is not free of

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[1] Gustave le Bon : The Crowd, p 92.

objective circumstances in society. Economic interests control opinion which becomes a mere reflection of the truly creative force in society. The course of history is influenced by the interplay of economic forces; the development of the State is partly determined[1] by its economic structure; much of the law is the expression of the economic interest of the dominant groups in the state; legislation is the expression of the self-interpreted desires of effective interests. Economic interests are fundamental motivations in politics and as Madison has said, the most durable basis of factions or parties is the unequal distribution of property. Public opinion accordingly, is not a freely creating, freely moving force by which the course of public events is directed. Economic organisation and interest form an essential content of opinion, and those who hold the balance of economic power finally control the group by directing policy and the content of law. Economic force is the most comprehensive of all forces that operate in society and it is not an exaggeration to say that economic motive is the *sine qua Non* of all political and social action.[2]

It has often been asked whether public opinion is capable of originating progressive measures and promoting the welfare of society as a whole. Public opinion attains significance only when it is taken as a measure of value in the determination of all major aspects of

[1] Rosco Pound: The Interpretation of Legal History, Lecture V. N.Y. 1925.

[2] Charles Beard: Economic Basis of Politics.

public policy. The spontaneous crowd is not the essence of governmental life, and the state cannot be founded upon mere gregariousness. Democracy is safe so long as there is popular interest in the affairs of government, but the interest of the public that is uninstructed and is dominated by irrational prejudices is far worse than mere indifference to government. The masses have been reactionary and have often opposed salutary political changes, have been intolerant of the rights of minorities, have expressed their dislike of the few who outstrip them in intelligence and ability. Similarly, opinion of the uninstructed has been unappreciative of steps towards a better civilisation which might cause some immediate dislocations in economic life. It is for this reason many have spoken of the irrationality of popular opinion and its unsuitability for the making of law and the control of government. What is of great importance in a modern society is instructed opinion, for it is the whole series of reactions involved in collective deliberation that can give the State's policy and its essential evaluations the support it requires.

It is the body of beliefs, sentiments, convictions and prejudices of the enlightened community that in totality constitutes public opinion, and that will enable the government to make and enforce a law or forbid an enactment by acting either in favour of a desired innovation or of conservatism. Progress is slow in the less developed countries of the world, because beliefs change slowly and the predominance of certain beliefs is maintained for a considerable length of time because of the inertia of the mind. An analysis of social life over a long

period will reveal that cross or counter currents against the prevailing beliefs will have slowly undermined their importance and prepared the ground for a change. The change goes on slowly, continuously and imperceptibly, because convictions change slowly. The slowness of change can be explained by the fact that habits of thought are formed slowly and crystallised into customs binding on the community, and custom is an evidence of the opinion of the group, particularly, when manners of thinking are organised by means of social institutions. Similarly, there are feelings in every group which are associated with certain rationalisations; and sentiments are stabilised into patterns or mental attitudes. There are thus, the organisation of feelings and sentiments into consistent groups. With mental attitudes as the starting point, we reach the problem of the formation of opinion.

In the history of such a civilisation as that of the Hindus, the opinion of the people could always be traced to the originality of some thinker who has given a new direction to the accumulated wisdom of the community which in course of time has become the common possession of the community. This movement of opinion is gradual but continuous. The Social Reformers of the first half of the nineteenth century made a great impression on the Indian masses, and converted them to their persuasion of thought, though such a conversion was gradual but continuous. It took over fifty years before the leaders of the community could educate the common folk through press and propaganda so as to make their opinion articulate, and thus move the government for the introduction of necessary legislative changes. For ages

the Hindus have been hostile to change and have always favoured the maintenance of inherited habits. With the spread of education and manifestation of political consciousness, there was a widespread demand for change and reform, and the absence of an efficient legislative organ to voice out faithfully the opinion of the newly educated community seriously impeded progress and development. While the existing institutions reflected only the prejudices of hereditary interests rather than the inarticulate aspirations of the people, the reformers imbued with new ideas about social reform and reconstruction could not find a common meeting-place where they could air their own opinions, and thus mould or influence public opinion. The inherent conservatism of the people, too was hostile to rapid spread of ideas that favoured a change. The government of the country was not able to carry its convictions into effect, because of the dread of wounding the religious susceptibilities of a large section of the people who though they might not take an active part in public affairs might raise an insuperable opposition to enactments which disturb their moral sentiment. As the government was alien, it had not the courage to give a lead to the nation, and the consequence of such a course of action was, that its enactments were a compromise between enlightenment and prejudice, ignorance and knowledge.

Enactments were made to better the conditions of the people, but the beliefs that guided such legislative enactments were not public opinion, in the sense that many of the reforms envisaged by the law were not entertained by the people. Besides, there was no

efficient social machinery through which the government could gauge public opinion. Therefore, the content of its enactments as in the case of abolition of Satee, Infanticide, slave labour and such other pernicious practices was more in accordance with the prevailing opinions in England. Whatever the government considered expedient, it carried out for the benefit of the people. Changes in public opinion were slow, legislation was fragmentary and gradual, the changes being brought about only under some crisis or exigencies of circumstances foreign or internal.

With the progress of years during the nineteenth century, one could see that law was not keeping step with change. Invariably, the opinion which changed the law or brought about reform in institutions which stood in need of alterations was not current opinion. The government and legislators usually employed modes of thinking which they had acquired in youth, with the result that enactments were not in accordance with doctrines that were beginning to manifest themselves in society. Laissez-faire doctrines were old-fashioned, while paternalism was the prevailing opinion, and society needed abolition of the vestiges of feudalism and an attempt at social reconstruction on new foundations. The dominant opinion about social reform current in the last decade of the nineteenth century was translated into enactments half a century later, as those that conferred rights of property on women and of remarriage on the widow.

Furthermore, the development of legislation in India has not always depended on the currents of public

opinion. Enactments have been carried out in accordance with interests dominant in society at the time, and that class which exercised predominant power at any given time always influenced the course of legislation. The progress of agrarian reforms was arrested so long, because the land-owning classes constituted a powerful vested interest in the legislature. The demand for extension of civil and political rights had been persistently made by the politically articulate middle classes. Untouchability had existed because of the predominance of theocracy and brahmin opinion in society and the higher castes had deliberately preferred their own private advantage to social welfare, through as Dicey says, 'some strange intellectual delusions unconsciously created by the bias of a sinister interest'.[1] Legislation all along had to a great extent been determined by the opinion of the caste or class which had been dominant in society.

Till the close of the nineteenth century, the prevailing conceptions of the people were influenced more by the teachings of religious leaders than by the champions of humanitarianism and of reform. The teaching of doctrine which leaders like Ramakrishna Paramahamsa, Dayananda Saraswati and Swami Vivekananda held to be truth was of greater potency in influencing opinion than circumstances. Their version of social problems was held to be the authentic version, while the cry for reform by men who were influenced far less by logical argument than by logic of fact went unheeded. The conservative and reactionary sections

[1] A. V. Dicey : "Law and Opinion in England."

of Hinduism in order to preserve their own interest naturally introduced into social conflicts, particularly for such questions as abolition of untouchability 'the intolerable evils of thinking fanatically and therefore of acting fanatically', with the result that one could discern amongst the average Indian masses the indolent assumption that even if enactments of fundamental importance were brought about, they would not in any way disturb the even tenor of their lives.

Thus, India in the last century, retained its predominantly rural character. Social psychologists tell us that individuals in big cities are less subject to the play of emotions and instincts of the crowd than the people of the rural community. The more people assemble in the same area without a psychological organisation, the less they fall victims to the unreasoning effects of crowd emotion. Individual wish and will have more influence upon life in the city than upon life in the country where life is more dependent on the fortuitous circumstances of the natural cycle. Because of this, there is a greater degree of fanatical belief in the Country than in urban areas. It is not hereby suggested that such fanaticism does not exist in highly industrialised societies. A thoroughly integrated economic ociety too, cannot tolerate too much heterodoxy in opinion, and a certain homogeniety in certain matters of opinion is a necessary condition of its existence.[1] Still, while the public opinion is the force at the back o' all regulative

[1] G.E S. Catlin : The science and method of Politics, NY 1927. p 96.

institutions in an industrialised society and is in content a social judgment reached after conscious rational deliberation, in rural communities, and partially-industrialised countries such as India, opinion turns out to be the opinion of the group that dominates society.



CHAPTER V

RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN THE LAST QUARTER OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Several social classes had emerged in India as a result of the spread of education, of a new social economy, improved methods of administration and a new conception of statehood in relation to individuals. The zamindars, peasant-proprietors, money-lenders, merchants, agricultural labourers and the like were a phenomenon unknown in the past. The urban areas were marked by the rise of capitalists, petty traders and shopkeepers, factory workers, and the representatives of the educated middle classes, as lawyers, doctors, teachers, journalists and clerks. All these classes were drawn from the different ranks of the social heirarchy. But none influenced the society so profoundly in its structure, beliefs, outlook and way of life, as the intelligentsia, and it was their ideals, notions of social and religious organisation, and national and democratic spirit that animated society and energised it to conform to a new pattern of life which was the synthesis of the old and the new. It was the opinion of this group that was public opinion in the last quarter of the 19th century on all matters, religious, social and political.

The philosophy of this group was liberalism with faith rooted in nationalism and democracy. Education, economic and commercial factors, group-vitality and group-outlook on life, and such other forces and

influences had made for the creation of national feeling. Perhaps, the economic factors were the most potent. Group life arose out of unconscious impulses, undefined sympathies and suspicions, and out of a confidence in the familiar and fear of the unfamiliar. There was the clubbing of individuals for specific purposes, and such conscious groupings for limited purposes grew in scale and number and variety. Group-consciousness and national consciousness needed a system for the communication of ideas and emotions, and this was provided for by the Industrial Revolution, and by the rise of modern science which brought into being, means of transport, and telegraph, and newspapers which were all to keep alive a vivid national sentiment. A true psychic unity within the society was made possible by the new means, devised by science for the communication of information, and this broke up local isolation and completed the process of popularising national sentiment and perfecting national self-consciousness.

Nationalism, the protection of property, freedom for business enterprise, and the guarantee of civil liberties were some of the ideals of the middle classes who pinned their faith in the permanence of a semi-agrarian type of society, in preference to a complex urban and industrial civilisation. The middle classes assumed the *laissez faire* theory of government and believed that the best government was one that governed least, and that a free press was worth more than any government. The liberalism of the intelligentsia assailed all forms of privilege and pleaded for

individual liberty, free competition and equality of educational opportunity. Existing differences between castes and classes were assigned to inequalities of opportunity, and a belief in the essential equality of all men before the law and theological equality before God was inculcated. The government was conceived as the conserver of past gains, the keeper of the group conscience and the arbiter of contending and ever changing interests and rights. It was to be preeminently conservative and its laws and judgments to be interpretative of well-recognised needs rather than experimental in the creation of new needs and breaking paths to adjust society to the developing needs of the people. Democracy was to be closely intertwined with political individualism ; and democracy was to be understoód as industrial development, transportation, commerce, and the creation of a surplus economy ; education in critical judgment was to be fostered It was held that a general system of education open to all would produce almost cultural and intellectual uniformity in society. Democracy was organised discussion and the latter, instead of insurrection, was to be resorted to as a method of settling political differences. There was to be a gradual elimination of superstition and dogma and fetichism which hitherto had been employed as the props of the bureaucracy and of the highest caste in society.

It was an age that held to the theory of political determinism in history, to a theory of the basic importance of political institutions in social causation and in determining the whole character of civilisation.

Social and political institutions were to be subjected to the test of reason and not to faith and to be modified in conformity with the time spirit. Middle class liberalism believed in the inevitability of gradualness in change, whether it was in the enlargement of the class of rulers, or in the emergence of the individual, in the development of democracy, and in the specialisation of governmental functions and in the development of political tools and such other incidences of political power. Democracy to the educated Indian was still a dream and a hope rather than a fulfilment. The government of the day, then, was only an umpire of conflicting social and economic interests and was to be persuaded to modify its technique and practice as to contribute largely to progress, and foster political participation on the part of the masses so that they might react at least indirectly upon governmental efficiency, and therefore, in the direction of social advance. But, the society was not yet ripe and willing to educate and discipline itself to the point of, an intelligent appreciation of what its problems and interests were, and of a willingness to accept responsibility and subordinate itself to the high demands of group policy and revolutionary change. Social, religious and cultural conditions of the old society were to be examined, revised and remodelled in the spirit of the new principles of nationalism, democracy and a new humanity that was to rescue democracy from its wicked step-mother, Individualism.

The progress of society was the main objective of the intelligentsia in its effort to reconstruct the beliefs,

practices and religious ideas of the people in the terms of new knowledge furnished by the impact of western culture and civilisation. The movements they organised were inspired with a national ideal to reconstruct social institutions and relationships in the spirit of a renovated and transfigured religion. The social and religious reform movements that began to manifest themselves had this one supreme object of securing political freedom through a widespread education of the masses in the new religion of democracy and nationalism, for anything that had the fragrance of religion had a wierd fascination for the Hindu. The community was to advance by new ideas and had to appreciate the organic nature of social life, to see how dependent ideas were upon human activities. and therefore could not be separated from social realities. Ideas had to be drawn from the vicissitudes of daily life. Progress had to be made only by direction of new knowledge, and progress depended on beliefs and ideals no less than on positive knowledge which was only a simple refining of old opinions and ideals and their crystallisation into new ones. Progress in the social or religious sphere, meant a *catharsis* of belief by fact, and new beliefs were a step forward, for they worked better in terms of social welfare.

The last quarter of the century was an age of criticism and of an effort for emancipation from the tyranny of constituted authority in society, in religion, in literature and the arts. The conviction grew on the mind of the educated classes that without criticism there would be no development, no perfection and no

progress beyond the animal stage. The criticism of the environment and of the ideas and institutions therein, required enlightened individuals, as disseminators, and the 'categorical imperative' of the enlightened minority towards the majority. The task of the educated minority was conservation and innovation, which are social control and readjustment through criticism of society and its prevailing opinions. The chief concern of criticism was not to adapt social life to traditions, but to overhaul tradition in the process of ready adaptation to new social exigencies. The opinion of the educated middle classes had to be made the effective viewpoint of the majority, and the prime necessity was to enable all elements of the population to develop common aims and aspirations, and a common stock of political traditions, by an open mind to ready interchange of ideas, and freed from inherited prejudices that prevented mutual understanding and sympathy.

The effect of the impact of British ideas on society was like the stirring of the minds of Englishmen in the Age of Elizabeth, and the response to the stimulus was so intense that unexplored regions in the domain of art and architecture, literature, philosophy and law became the target of adventure. Lord Morley in a memorable speech to the House of Lords referring to this age stated, 'We are watching a great and stupendous process, the reconstruction of a decomposed society. ... We have now before us in the vast congeries of people we call India, a long, slow march in uneven stages through all the centuries from the fifth century to the twentieth '.[1] Indian conservatism did not look like

[1] R. W. Fraser: Indian Thought Past and Present. p 307.

being an insurmountable obstacle to new ideas. W. W. Hunter wrote in 1888 "more copies of books of poetry, philosophy, law and religion issue every year from the press of British India than the whole manuscripts compiled during any century of native rule." [1]

A constant upheaval and development of the native mind had been going on ever since the introduction of British power into India and these could be seen in the political change, in the adaptation of Indians to British administrative machinery and in the birth of national movements of social and moral reform. Keshab Chandra Sen said 'All current opinion is that a great movement is in progress. The drift from the old moorings is a constant theme of discourse'. Indian religious ideas and institutions were being rapidly transformed by English law and morality, and Alfred Lyall enthusiastically stated, 'The end of simple paganism is not far distant in India'.[2]

During this Age, whether it was social or political thought, India was merely in a state of transition from dogma to criticism leading to reconstruction. The history of philosophic thought and of beliefs has shown that the introduction of a new type of civilisation in the midst of an old one, has invariably, so far as India is concerned, quickened the development of powers which have been latent for centuries. The advance has been along the national current of thought, though India has never failed to absorb the spiritual ideals and

[1] Sir W. W. Hunter: England's work in India. p 45.

[2] Sir Alfred Lyall: Asiatic Studies, I iii.

intellectual truths of other cultures and civilisation. The success of a new system of beliefs has always been ephemeral, only to be effaced by violent reactions of the indigenous system of beliefs and practices which continue to operate silently for some time under the new stream of tendencies. The grafting of new thought upon the old which looked like an adaptation, resulted in a modification of much of the old system of beliefs which were found to be incompatible with the fundamental ideas of western civilisation. As the pressure of western modes of thought on the indigenous thought and practices increased, the fear that the distinct racial and cultural elements of the old would be obliterated, naturally nourished unrest, which found outward activity in strengthening the defences of the traditional customs and beliefs, and in a sullen defiance of the belligerent forces of the western civilisation'.[1] The reaction of the Hindu mind in later years developed a bitter hostility to British rule and methods of administration and even to the influences of western culture and civilisation. The rehabilitation of Hindu beliefs and customs proceeded *pari passu* with the growth of political disaffection.[2] The reaction and its attendant feature, political disaffection came about slowly, because of the Hindu's instinctive treading in old paths, and his unconscious tenacity undeterred by any thought of incongruity. Because of the conservatism of the Hindu, and a normal indisposition to effort and

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[1] 'Mind' Journal, 1896; Fraser: Indian thought Past and Present. p 2.

[2] Sir Valentine Chirol: Unrest in India, p 26-27.

change, and non-resistance and easy adaptation to new disturbing influences, the several reform movements revealed the leavening of the best thought of the East and the West and the moulding of the western ideals and ascertained facts into India's traditional aspirations towards some satisfying solutions as regards metaphysical problems as well as the improvement of India's material surroundings.

The influence of the western civilisation and thought on the educated middle classes was first shown by the formation of the Brahmo Samaj in 1828 by Raja Ram Mohan Roy, amplified and developed later by Keshab Chandra Sen. The Arya Samaj was founded by Dayananda Swami, at Bombay in 1875 and at Lahore in 1877. Another movement, that of Theosophy inculcating a universal brotherhood and an investigation of all religions, and of the occult powers said to be latent in man, began to impress the imagination of many of the educated classes and won a wide following. Similarly, Hinduism in its pristime aspects found its most zealous champion in Ramakrishna Paramahamsa, who was for reaction in favour of the old religion, and the maintenance of the metaphysical, philosophical and spiritual aspects of Indian thought which he regarded as intrinsically sound and therefore the need for the Hindu missionaries going over and conquering the world. A little later Prarthana Samaj was founded followed by Gokhale's 'the Servants of India' in Poona.

Several of these new movements had both metaphysical and social bearings. The Christians in India saw in this movement from dogma to criticism and

social reconstruction, the far-reaching and profound influence of Christian teaching.—'There are many whose acts and opinions have been modified thereby '.[1] 'Christianity is in the air, the higher classes are assimilating its ideas '.[2] The revolution in religious belief has been brought about as much by the dissemination of Christian thought by missionaries as by the study of the Hindu Scriptures, and Christian influence is detectable in many of the Hindu publications of the Age.[3] The followers of other religions similarly established in India have developed a similar complacency in conviction and belief. It must be noted that almost all the religious thought and practices are found in India; the pantheism of certain Hindu ascetics, the polytheism of the masses, the animism of the aboriginal races, varieties of theism, matriarchal practices are all so co-ordinated in mutual contact as to tell upon each other, and reconcile one's own conception of truth with the conceptions of others.

An attempt is made here to state the fundamental beliefs of the Hindus, and the distinctive contribution made by the Reformers to the enrichment of Hindu belief and practice. Hindu religious and social thought was committed to the *a priori* method, beginning with certain dogmas, certain fixed beliefs, certain general principles and working downward to particular facts. It is a descent from certain ideal

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1 The Report of the Census of India 1901.

2 Report of the Madras Decennial Missionary Conference, 1902, p 311.

3 Bengal Government Report, 1899.

conditions to the objective world. The whole social life of India is permeated and knit together by ideals which have been slowly and laboriously evolved through the intellect and imagination of poets, philosophers and saints. The ideals are India's spiritual sheet-anchor, and Seeley says, 'the poetic or mystic philosopher is by no means disposed to regard demonstrated truth with reverence; he is rather apt to call it shallow and to sneer at its practical triumphs while he revels for his part in reverie and the luxury of unbounded speculation.[1]

India is *par excellence* a land of anamolies. Every one of the great living religions is primarily defined by a name, the name of the founder, and secondarily by certain more or less fluctuating beliefs embodied in scriptures; certain more or less fluctuating practices, sacraments, rites and ceremonies; certain ethical rules which are common to all religions, and certain personal laws which are special to each. But it is not easy to fix Hinduism to any definite beliefs and practices. Birth from Hindu parents is not necessary to make one a Hindu; birth within the geographical limits of India is not necessary.[2] Belief in the Vedas, in the caste system, in the sanctity of the cow, of the brahmin, belief in god, in *karma*, in reincarnation, and belief in soul is not necessary. [3]Race and colour tests do

[1] Seeley: Expansion of England p 283.

[2] Babu Govinda Das: in Essentials of Hinduism, p 520.

[3] The opinions of the following gentlemen on the essentials of Hinduism are cited here:

Satyendranath Tagore, Mr. Gokuldas K. Parekh, Rai

not succeed; rules as to food and drink, touching and not touching, interdining and inter-marrying are not binding. The untouchables are Hindus; among the higher castes there is no consensus of opinion as to the absolute necessity of any one sacrament; the top knot of hair, sacrificial cord, the marriage ceremony, the birth and death ceremonies are either conspicuously absent or widely divergent.

Hinduism is free and untrammelled; no creeds, no dogmas, no rituals crib or confine its powers of indefinite expansion. It refuses none, but embraces all within its soft pla tic living folds. It suits itself to every mood and to every stage of human development, though it looks rigid, exclusive, non-cosmopolitan and is meant only for the elect.

There are two aspects of Hinduism; one extremely catholic and independent of all ritualism, and the other narrowed down by observances and practices prescribed for particular castes. Caste observances and practices are considered necessary to remedy the disabilities from which the human soul suffers, as the strain of previous karma manifested in evil tendencies of the *antahkarana*; oscillation and want of firmness of mind, *Vikshepa*, delusion, born of observation of the reality, *Avarana*. *Satkarma* or *Subha karma*, *Upasana* or *Bhakti* and Vedantic inquiry have been

Bahadur, Lala Brijnath, Pandit Durga Datta Joshi, V. K. Ramanujachari, V. Krishnaswami Iyer, V. M. Mahajani, Rao Bahadur Deorao Vinayak, Babu Sarada Charan Mitra, Sir Pratul Chandra Chatterji, M. Adinarayana Iyah and others.

prescribed for the removal of these disabilities and these courses constitute an ascending scale in a system of discipline.

Although there are innumerable gradations among the people, in regard to their faith, from the Theism of the Upanisads, to gross idolatry and fetishism and agnosticism and atheism,—they are classed as Hindus, because all those who do not repudiate this designation have been conveniently called Hindus. Ritual in some aspects has been regarded as indispensable as a matter of discipline; apart from its disciplinary character it gives colour, fullness of expression and a spiritual richness to life, and many reformers of the day were strongly of the conviction that without a faith and without the aid of a ritual pointing to high ideals and serving the purpose of a discipline, erring human nature, might go astray. Various texts were quoted to show that caste observances and practices did not form an essential part of the Hindu faith and that their non-observance did not therefore necessarily derogate from the status of one as a Hindu in the abstract. *Acharas* or practice or ritual was incidental to and of importance mainly with reference to a caste organisation and were not essential to the Hindu faith, and any one who contravened the practices would lose his caste status but did not necessarily become a non-Hindu.

Normally, a Hindu was supposed to have Vedic *Dharma*, religion of knowledge, *Sanatana Dharma*, external law, *Manava Dharma*, duty of man, *Varna Dharma*, organisation of vocations, *Asrama Dharma*, the mapping out and regulation of life into parts and

stages. There were some beliefs which were held by every individual; the first article of belief was that the authority of the Vedas is supreme; there is a supreme ruler of the universe known as *Brahma* in the vedantic literature, and that there are *jivas* who are distinct from the physical bodies in which they reside and also from the senses which according to the philosophy of the *Vedanta* are material particles. The Jivas are eternal and change their bodies as one changes old clothes for new ones. They have a separate existence from *Brahma* till they attain deliverance from *Karma*; the *jiva* is under the bondage of *karma*; the law of causation applies in the physical as well as in the spiritual plane, and the *jiva* reaps the fruit of every action done by him, subject to never ending cycle of births and rebirths. Another article of belief was that the chain of births and deaths can be brought to an end, if the jiva desires it, by following the road of which *Karma*, *Jnana* and *Bhakti* are the different stages. In these stages, the *jiva* performs the duties of his position without looking forward to the fruit of his labours. The feelings and desires which bind him to this world are weakened, and he becomes capable of meditating undisturbed on his own nature and on his relation to *Brahma*. By continuing in this stage for some time, the *jiva* is able to ignore the physical envelopes in which the *jivas* are shrouded and to perceive all the rest as himself alike, as manifestations of the Supreme Being.

Most of the important beliefs of the Hindus are enshrined in the *Upanishads*. It looks as though we

are confronted with a mixture of puerile assertions and the noblest of daring thoughts, some exquisite and most sublime conquest of human virtue and human thought. It is not knowledge that we have to seek for in the *Upanishads*, but intuitive presentiments and true prophecy of humanity. While logic is dogmatic and immures our freedom of thought and the suggestive promptings of our feelings and of our intuition, into the prison of a syllogism or into the dungeon of an argument, the sayings of the *Upanishads* are for meditation, setting the problems before man and leaving the joy of discovery of the solutions himself.

The truth after which the seer of the *Upanishads* was seeking was a spiritual one and of a subjective nature. Truth is something which must be experienced, and which being experienced enables man to overcome all the afflictions of life; something which being known nothing else remains to be known. He that knows that which is noblest and the best becomes the noblest and the best among his relations.[1] The Upanishadic society seems almost obssessed by the one problem of religion. Prejudice of caste has to surrender as in the case of *Satyakama* before the higher consolations of humanity; the *upanishadic* spirit is irreconcilable with wealth, and there is a disposition in regard to complete and sincere renunciation of worldly enjoyments as the basis of every truly religious life. Worldly interests are regarded as an encumbrance to the man aspiring to godhood. The *Brahman* who has got an aversion to prosperity and riches makes the most of rites and

[1] Brhad Aranyaka VI. i. i.

observances; only the wealthy man bows to the poor one whenever the latter can claim spiritual superiority; traditional lore is deemed quite inferior to the inspiration of the man who through the purity of his life, has become as simple as a child.

This was a large part of the fundamentals of Hinduism that was accepted as religion by the educated community; at the same time the downward trend of the community in its religious, social, moral and economic phases, manifested in the daily life of the Hindu convinced the Reformers that a catastrophe loomed in the future if the people did not think and arrest the downward march, by moving with the spirit of the time. The decay, decline and the extinction of a nation were not eternal principles of 'natural law', and they could be averted by the means created by deliberate human effort. The intelligentsia felt that the chief obstacles to progress were the out-worn institutions, the ignorance and prejudices of their forefathers and that if they could only be freed from this incubus, could dispel the state of stagnation and snap the chain of sacerdotal bondage, they would find it easy to preserve and regenerate and create new and enlightened laws and institutions to suit their needs. The reformers felt that the progress of India was arrested by custom and prejudice; and the country appeared to be closely embalmed in a mummy-like imitation of its primitive existence, and it was by rousing the sleeping conscience of the community by discussion and self-examinatien, that the bond of ages would be broken, that the originality of Indian mankind would be

set free, that the dormant inventiveness of men would be awakened, and that every part of Indian human nature would begin to spring forward, and all the higher gifts and graces of humanity would begin to contribute their quota to the verifiable progress of the community. But, the progress of man required the co-operation of men for his development; furthermore, the members of the community had to be similar enough to one another to co-operate easily and readily together, and co-operation depended on a felt union of heart and spirit without which the society would be conquered and killed out by some other society. The reformers were aware that their countrymen were keen on adhering to the practices of their ancestors, to whom religious practices were indistinguishable from social customs; all questions of inter-marriage, inter-dining, burial or cremation were socio-religious questions, and customs and *mores* meant also morals, and a halo of religious sanctity encircled the things that had been and were. At the same time the Hindu was so constituted that while regarding adherence to the past as a matter of national honour he made large allowances for variation in local usage and in subjective opinion; his instinct had always been to accept the validity, universality and objectivity of truth, in spite of his natural disinclination to change and repugnance to agnosticism and materialism. The Hindu was not one of those who would abandon society because it tolerated what seemed to him to be great evils or by exposing evils eschew society in order to embrace other religions. His attitude towards society was the result of a sounder philosophy and way of life. Consequently, the re-

former was critical of revivalism and of the attempt to bring about a restoration of old practices ; but he was always found to be on the side of those who would historically justify rational practices, and fortify reason by an appeal to the past.

Religious Reform Movements :

Brahma Samaj

A brief account of the movements and the life of its founders is given here. The Brahma Samaj laid the foundation of the social and political reform movements of the latter half of the nineteenth century. It started as a movement for the emancipation of society from the tyranny of the letter of the Hindu law, and fulfilled itself later as a movement for the emancipation of society from arbitrary and social institutions.[1] The Brahma Samaj passed through three stages : Raja Ram Mohun represented the earliest, followed by the second phase elaborated by Devendra Nath Tagore, and lastly, by Keshab Chandra Sen who finalised the movement as a distinct sect from other religions.

Raja Ram Mohun Roy was one of the founders of the Brahma Samaj which was established in 1828 and was a development of the Atmiya Sabha of 1814. Roy was born in 1774 and he died in 1833, and thus lived for about sixty years at a time and in a country when everything was in conspiracy against the spirit of modernity, of the claims of reason and against the possibilities of the development of the community under the inspiring guidance of the ideals of liberty and rationality. The cult of *Sakti* was contending with

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1 M. A. Buch : Rise and Growth of Indian Liberalism, p 97.

the followers of *Chaitanya* for religious supremacy in Bengal. The social condition of the people of Bengal with their rigid caste-system and horrible rites of Sati and Infanticide, was deplorable. The condition of the Hindu female was truly pitiable; education among women was unknown; *Kulinism*, polygamy and every day oppression made her life unbearable. Ignorance and superstition reigned supreme over the length and breadth of the country. There was darkness over the land, and no man knew when it would be dispelled.[1] Roy waged war against these practices which had neither the sanction of religion, nor the animation of intuition and reason. The movement he initiated was partly a movement of revolt and partly one of reconstruction. He was at once a social reformer, the founder of a great religious movement and a great political genius. As a prolific writer, and an Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit scholar, he was able to understand the significance of the old learning and attempt at a synthesis of the past and the present. Soon after his father's death, he wrote a book in Persian "Against the idolatry of all religions". In 1816 he published his first work in English 'Translation of an Abridgement of the *Vedanta*, or the Resolution of all the Vedas, the most celebrated and revered work of Brahminical Theology, establishing the Unity of the Supreme Being; and that He alone is the object of propitiation and worship.' It was the *Upanishads* to which he gave his attention. In 1817 he published "A Defence of Hindu Theism, in reply to the attack of an advocate for Idolatry at

[1] Ram Mohan Roy: English Works, Vol.I, pp vi-vii.

Madras", and a Second Defence of the Monotheistical System of the Veda, in reply to an Apology for the present state of Hindu worship." In 1817 he directed his thoughts to the Christian Religion, and never discontinued its study till the end of his life. He learnt Hebrew and Greek to form his own independent opinion of the Old and New Testaments. In 1820 he published in Bengali and English, a book called "The Precepts of Jesus[1] the Guide to Peace and Happiness", consisting of Extracts from the Gospels. The Brahma Sabha was founded in 1828, and the service was divided into four parts,—recitation of Vedic texts; reading from the *Upanishads*; delivering of a sermon; and singing of hymns; thus the germ of the first Theistic church was planted at Calcutta,[2] inaugurating a new era in the history of Indian religious thought and introducing public worship and united prayer—before unknown among the Hindus. Roy felt that there was in India a nation gifted with a religious history transcending all the records of every other race; a nation that had gradually ascended to the conception of the purest form of Monotheism that the world had yet seen. The higher thought of the nation had learnt to place its trust in a universal spirit in whom all lived and moved and had their being. The Reformer realised the universal prevalence of this monotheistic principle and the association of this exalted faith with external observances and rites[3] which were in entire discord

1 Sir Monier Williams: Religious Thought, etc., p 7.

2 Sivanath Sastri: History of the Brahmo Samaj Vol I. p 23 43.

3 ,, ,, ,, ,, p 77.

with it. The contrast between the monotheistic spirit and polytheistic observances, between the devotion to one supreme *Brahman* and the claims of the multiple gods, goddesses and manifestations of Nature, was striking; and Roy desired that Monolatry should go hand in hand with Monotheism so that there might be concord between the flesh and the spirit resulting in the restoration of the integrity of the human soul. Ranade presiding over the 63rd anniversary of Roy's death, remarked "Roy did not regard the Brahma Samaj faith as a New Dispensation, or a new declaration of God's Purposes. He aspired only to establish harmony between men's accepted faith and their practical observances by a strict monolatrous worship of the one Supreme Soul, a worship of the heart and not of the hand, a sacrifice of self and not of the possessions of the Self. There was nothing foreign in its conception, origin or method. He wanted men, and women to cherish their own ancient treasures of faith, and to secure their freedom from the bondage of superstition and ignorance." [1]

The exact nature of Ram Mohan Roy's religious opinions has been disputed. Sir Monier Williams characterised the form of theology which he propounded as 'vague, undogmatic and comprehensive'. He was claimed as a Vedantist by Hindus, as a theist by Unitarians, as a Christian by Christians[2] and as a Muslim by Muhammadans. He belonged to none of

[1] Ranade: Address on Raja Ram Mohan Roy, 1896, p 18.

[2] Rev. K. S. Macdonald: A Paper on Roy's Christian confession of faith.

them. Whatever was good in the Vedas, in the Scriptures, in the Koran, in the Zendavesta or in any book of any nation, anywhere, was to be accepted and assimilated as coming from the 'God of Truth' and to be regarded as a Revelation. Roy cherished deeply in his heart the unity of all religions, and in a letter to a friend he stated that his 'view of Christianity is that in representing all mankind as the children of one eternal Father, it enjoins them to love one another without making any distinction of country, caste, colour or creed'.[1] But, he professed to have discovered a pure Theism in the Upanishads under the banner of which he expected to see the diverse and clashing religions of the world reconciled. He was a reformer who aimed at retaining all that was good and true in Hinduism, while sweeping away all that was corrupt and false. In the words of Monier Williams, "he was too intensely patriotic, not to be swayed, even to the last, by an ardent love of old national ideas." [2] He advocated the civil rights of the Hindus, and sought to improve their temporal condition; but he felt that religious reform lay at the root of all other beneficial changes.[3] The movement started by Roy was a protest against gross idolatry and against the sacrificing of animals in religious functions, a protest against relics of a bygone past as sati, the custom of prohibiting the remarriage of women once betrothed, married or widowed, and against polygamy. Devendranath Tagore who succeeded Roy, was the guiding light of the Samaj

[1] Ramachandra Bose: Brahmoism, pp 40-42.

[2] Sir Monier Williams: Religious Thought, pp 484-87.

[3] Max Muller: Biographical Essays, p 32.

from 1841 to 1872. Devendranath Tagore introduced in 1843 "the Brahmic Covenant" into the *Tattwabodhini Sabha* which he had founded in 1839.[1] Like Ram Mohan Roy, Tagore too pleaded for the spread of the knowledge of the Vedanta, and thereby preserve the integrity of the Hindu religion.[2] While Ram Mohan Roy considered 'the precepts of Jesus' to be 'The Guide to Peace and Happiness', Tagore sought it in the *Upanishads.* In 1850, he published a treatise called *Brahma Dharma,*[3] and the fundamental principles of Brahma faith were the accepted doctrines of popular Hinduism.[4] The 'great watchword of the Brahma Dharma' says Bose 'One without a Second' was the battle cry of ancient pantheism.[5] The precepts and ideas implied in the Vedas and the Upanishads were to be admitted and harmonised with pure theistic faiths. Tagore had a great reverence for the past traditions of India, and believed that India could work out its own spiritual regeneration, without the influence of Christian teaching.[6] The religion of Devendranath

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[1] Pandit Sivanath Sastri : The New Dispensation, p 5.

[2] Devendranath Tagore : Autobiography p 65.

[3] Sivanath Sastri : History of the Brahmo Samaj, Vol I p 146.

[4] Mrs. Dall says 'on first visiting Tagore in 1855, I asked him whether he ever allowed the name of Jesus to be heard in his church. 'No, never' he replied. 'And why not?' I said. 'Because some people call him God.'

[5] Ramchandra Bose : Brahmoism, p 54.

[6] 'Where else can the children of the poor receive education except in mission schools? But is not this a crying shame? .... If we all combine could we not set up schools as good as theirs or ten times better?' Tagore : Autobiography, p 99.

was prayer to the One Supreme Soul, and the prayer was the overflow of great emotional impulses, stirred by intense meditation on the beauties and glories of nature. He never received the advantages of Christian teaching. His religious genius was "essentially Vedic, Aryan, national, rapturous. The only element of semitic mysticism which he ever imbibed was from the ecstatic effusions of the Persian poet Hafiz". Tagore believed that all sinfulness and carnality to be the private concerns of each individual man, which ought to be conquered by resolute moral determination.[1]

Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Tagore had the first glimpses of the mingling of the East and the West, to culminate in a 'new religion for India, founded on a belief in the one God, and a way of life free from the corrupting influences of the past, as idolatry or caste. Max Muller stated later that 'the stream is small as yet, but it is a living stream'.[2] Keshab Chandra Sen who joined Tagore in 1857 further developed the reforming tendencies of the Samaj. He was to lead the Samaj towards a propaganda for the abolition of all distinctions of race, class or creed, and mingle Christian ideals with the Eastern modes of thought. He found in Christ not only the exaltedness of humanity, but also the grandeur of which Asiatic nature was susceptible. In his address in May 1866,

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[1] Pratab Chander Mozoomdar : Life of Keshab Chandra Sen, p 159.

[2] Max Muller : Biographical Essays p 83.

"Jesus Christ, Europe and Asia,"[1] he described Christ as a great man and reformer and as one sentby Providence to reform and regenerate mankind. In Christ, Europe and Asia, the East and the West may learn to find harmony and unity.' Keshab separated himself from the Adi Samaj of Devendranath and founded in November 1866 a separate Society, called Brahmo Samaj of India, in which selections from the Bible, the Koran, Avesta and the Shastras were to be recited. The motto of the Samaj was in Sanskrit composed by Pundit Gour Roy and it was that " The wide universe is a Temple of God ; wisdom is the pure land of pilgrimage ; Truth is the everlasting Scripture ; Faith is the root of religion ; Love is the true spiritual culture ; the destruction of selfishness is the true asceticism ". About 1867, Keshab began to hold Divine Services, and the spirit of the Vaishnava religion entered into Brahmo development, in the form of *Sankirtans.* This new kind of musical celebration came to be known as Brahmo Sankirtan, and culminated in the establishment of the *Brahma Utsab* or Festival of God in November 1867. In January 1869, he gave his anniversary lecture on the 'Church of the future.' It was to take truth from every prevailing system of religion, and its creed was Fatherhood of God, and Brotherhood of Man. 'The future religion of the world will be the common religion of all nations, but in each nation, it will have an indigenous growth and assume a peculiar or distinctive character.' Following the secession of a few respected

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[1] Sivanath Sastri : History of the Brahmo Samaj, Vol. I. p 176.

Brahmos and the formation of the *Sadharana Samaj*[1] due to differences on the question of Kuch Behar marriage in May 1878, three years later, Keshab formally proclaimed under the name of a New Dispensation a new Hinduism which combined *Yoga* and *Bhakti* and also a new Christianity which blended together Apostolical Faith and modern civilisation and science." In "Asia's message to Europe", which he delivered in 1883, he stated that in science there cannot be sects or divisions, schisms or enmities. Is there one astronomy for the East and another for the West? There can be but one science; it recognises neither caste nor colour nor nationality. It is God's science, the eternal Verity of things. If God is one, his Church must be one. All India must believe that Christ is the Son of God. ... All India will one day acknowledge Jesus Christ as the Atonement, the universal Atonement for all mankind. Keshab built a new sanctuary for his New Dispensation before he died, and the New Dispensation was to be made up of the Cross, Crescent, Trident and Vedic Omkar.[2]

Keshab Chander Sen, one of the most celebrated among the Brahmos, endeavoured to enforce the Doctrine of God as Conscience as an essential feature of the Brahmo faith, and thus emphasise the

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1 Sivanath Sastri: History of the Brahmo Samaj. Vol. I p 291.

2 Pratab Chander Mozoomdar: The Life and Teachings of Keshab Chander Sen.

A. T. Scott. (Ed. Madras.) Religious Reform, 1887. Part IV p 105.

moral side of the new movement, and bring human conduct within the domain of man's spirituality. He infused into the Samaj the spirit of faith, repentance and prayer, similar to the Indian modes of detachment, meditation and communion, and these principles were to be based on the doctrines of original sin, and unrelenting hostility of God to sin, and thereby awaken a sense of sin in the human soul. The spirit of self-surrender was to be fostered, and devotional fervour and the practice of *Sankirtan* were to take the place of elevating thought and communion in spiritual life. Keshab, like Roy the founder of the Brahmo Samaj, was keen in enunciating and enforcing the doctrine that 'the service of man was the service of God'. But the enforcement of this noble doctrine was to be based on the principle of the free and unfettered and the pure and spiritual worship of the Infinite and the Supreme Being. These were the two principles on which the Indian theism was to be built up, and this conviction of the universality of Theism grew into an ideal harmony of all religions which led Sen to postulate that all religions were in essence one and true. Keshab Chander Sen did not desire to leave social reform to individual tastes and inclinations, but tried to view social questions from the standpoint of a pure and spiritual faith, making the improvement of man's social life as accessory to man's progress in spiritual life. Social reform, thus, naturally came as a part of the fundamental conception of the worship of the Infinite as opposed to the worship of finite things. It was by the amelioration of the conditions of living and exaltation and ennoblement of man's social life, that

Theism could establish itself as a social faith and convert human society into a household of God.[1]

The Age in which Sen lived revealed that the doors of India were wide open to the influences awakening unrest of thought in India. In that turmoil of thought and conflicting ideals, there was great difficulty in maintaining the balance between the forces of the East and those of the West, for, the religious foundations of Hinduism, namely, the rules of caste, the infallibility of the Vedas and of the Brahmanical authority, polytheism and idolatry appeared to crumble to pieces in the atmosphere of modern thought. The Brahmo Samaj, Arya Samaj and Prarthana Samaj and other religious reform movements dedicated themselves not only to the task of reforming the religious life of the country but extended their influence to that of reconstruction of social institutions and social relationships, because of the organic interrelatedness of Hindu religion and social structure.

Arya Samaj

Dayananda Saraswati (1824-1883), the founder and leader of Arya Samaj was a man of a very different stamp from Ram Mohan Roy or Keshab Chander Sen. Dayananda with the cry of 'Back to the Vedas' void of idolatry, has been styled as the Reforming Luther of Hinduism. His thoughts like Roy and Keshab, from his early youth seemed to have surged with unrest, vague hope and aspirations. As he was born

1 Sivanath Sastri: History of the Brahmo Samaj Vol I, p 296-7.

in a Northern Brahman's family in Morvi in Kathiawar, he had access to Sanskrit education, very early in childhood and to master all the principle Scriptures of the Hindus. He had learnt from his parents that the whole of the religious and social life of India was centred round the Brahman and that the divine right of the Brahman to administer religious sacraments and perform religious ceremonies was fast melting away or being slowly undermined, and that the authority of the Brahman was being questioned. The malady of thought was so agonising that the solution for the malady did not consist for him in the seclusion of monastic cell or in mystic raptures realised in devotion to a spiritual ideal, but in a determination to tear out from the universe the meaning of the eternal mystery wrapped in the soul of man and the manifestations of Nature. He discarded idol-worship at the early age of fourteen ; left his father's home at nineteen and became a wandering Sanyasi and wandered throughout the country from 1840 to 1875, speaking the language of Sanskrit and seeking the deep peace of the Soul in meditation and contemplation as taught by the Sankhya-Yoga. He held disputations with Pundits, denounced their divinity, cried against idolatry in temples and preached a common brotherhood of all men devoid of all caste restrictions.[1] His reforming mission aroused hatred and derision and he was persecuted and is said to have met his death by poison given to him in 1883 at Ajmere by a person whose mode of life he had censured.[2]

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[1] Lajpat Rai : The Arya Samaj, 1915, p 66.68.

[2] R. W. Fraser : Indian Thought, Past and Present, p 315.

Dayananda's genius was akin to madness of a god-intoxicated man. He was convinced that India must replace the decaying power of the Brahman by some authority with sanctions strong enough to uphold the religious aspirations of the educated classes and thus compel the moral and social regeneration of the masses. His anxiety was to build up a new spiritual and social life for India on the basis of the revelation of the Vedas. His reform of Hinduism was to be based on the infallible authority of the Vedas as teaching a spiritual doctrine with an inspiring standard of ethics. He too like Roy and Keshab believed in *Brahman*, *Paramatma*, the spirit which penetrated and permeated the whole Universe and sustained and dissolved it. The inspiration of the Vedas was self-evident to Dayananda and did not require proof. 'Everything contained in the Vedas was perfect truth to Dayananda' remarked Max Muller, 'and he went a step further, and by the most incredible interpretations succeeded in persuading himself and others that everything worth knowing, even the most recent inventions of modern science, were alluded to in the Vedas.' [1] But he rejected other sacred books of the Hindus.[2]

It appears paradoxical how Dayananda postulating the infallibility of the Vedas and demanding conformity and subordination of individual judgment to the wisdom of the Vedas, could also play a progressive role in the

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1 Max Muller: Biographical Essays p 170.

2 Athenæum, Feb 5, 1881. Letter to Raja Siva Prasad of Benares.

period of national awakening, denouncing caste, sacerdotal dictatorship of the Brahmin and polytheistic practices of the masses, with a view to prepare them for the dynamic politics of the Age. He attempted to synthesise the progressive and the conservative instincts of his people by his new movement and scheme of social reform. He was inspired with the spirit of democracy and of resurgent nationalism and aimed to unite all classes on the basis of equality and fraternity. The individual was to be freed from the tyranny of constituted authority as that of the Brahman, and was to be integrated with other classes irrespective of creed, caste, community or race to an acknowledgment of the supreme value of national solidarity and service to the motherland. National unity was to be achieved by a casteless, iconoclastic society educated in the values of social organisation and unity. His appeal to a return to that state of beatitude symbolised by the Vedas was only an urge to kindle and inflame national consciousness in order to attain swaraj and autonomy of the soul. Furthermore, Dayananda's demand for an uncritical acceptance of the Vedas might appear as an annihilation of individual personality to think and act in spontaneity, and thus render him guilty of departure from the liberal religion that he inculcated. Dayananda dreaded the spread of Christianity, and he strove to set up a bulwark of defence, against its inroads, in an Indian monotheism, and in purging Hinduism of its idolatry and caste restrictions.[1] All his efforts were directed to rally India against the advancing waves

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[1] Forman: Arya Samaj. (Tract Society, Allahabad.) 1894.

of organised Christianity, and to seek defence for her own traditional line of thought as inspired by the Vedas. Fissiparous tendencies were to be checkmated, and forces of disruption, religious or social which tended to disintegrate the fundamental unity of social and religious India, were to be denounced and obliterated. In the words of Blunt, 'the type of man to whom the Arya doctrine appealed was the type of man to whom politics appealed viz. the educated man who desired his country's progress, not ultra-conservative with the ultra conservatism of the East.[1] Though Arya Samaj did not claim at any time to become a political body, it had predominantly the outlook of a religious-socio-political movement, and was far more iconoclastic than eclectic. The Dayananda Anglo-Vedic College at Lahore, Gurukula at Hardwar, and other minor educational institutions were established after Dayananda's death with the object of diffusing knowledge and dispelling ignorance; and these institutions claimed to attract more students than Missionary schools of the day.[2] But, the Arya Samaj, because of its lack of ecclecticism, was not as popular as Ramakrishna Movement and other schools of religious thought; besides, the crude scheme of educational reform, which Dayananda advocated, and his inculcation of the practice of *Niyoga*[3] with a view to achieve reformation in sex relations and thus wipe out inherited prejudices and differences between the castes aroused bitter denunciations from the orthodox community

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[1] Census Report of 1911.

[2] Lala Lajpat Rai: The Arya Samaj.

[3] Dayananda Saraswati: Satyaartha Prakaash, p 1 15.122.

which could not discover any reasoned system of ethical teaching or of practical utility underlying the reform. The forecast of Max Muller[1] proved correct. "For a time this kind of liberal orthodoxy started by Dayananda may last; but the mere contact with Western thought, and more particularly with Western scholarship will most likely extinguish it". In spite of the fact that the movement weakened during the second and third decades of the twentieth century, Arya Samaj was one of the most progressive and dynamic forces vitally active in the earlier stages of the Indian National resurgence, in building up the new political order.

Ramakrishna Mission Movement.

Ramakrishna, the Guru of Swami Vivekananda who was the founder of Ramakrishna Mission, was born on February 18, 1836. Of the two ways of escape from the stream of illusion and unavoidable destiny, *Jnana* and *Bhakti*, the intention of Ramakrishna unconsciously adopted the latter, and turned out to be the source of inspiration of a new form of national awakening which desired to protect the country from the materialism of the West, and develop a refined and renovated religion Ramakrishna's mind was inclined towards the qualified Advaitism of Ramanuja who wanted to make use of the concept of Illusion in some way for the evolution of individual souls. Swami Vivekananda once said of his Master, 'outwardly, he was *Bhakta* but inwardly *Jnanin*. Knowledge comes to him not from books, but from

[1] Max Muller: Biographical Essays p 182.

intercourse with monks, priests, pilgrims and pundits and others preoccupied with religious problems.' Ramakrishna's conception of God grew from the idea of God's Omnipresence to the warm feeling that all things are God, with the result that he regarded every living, suffering creature as the living symbol of immaculate humanity. Swami Vivekananda says that his Master recognised the *Mother* even in the most degraded woman, thus 'affirming the unity and oneness of life, comprehended, reverenced and embraced as one great whole wherein all opposing forces are co-ordinated in an exact equilibrium ".[1]

At Calcutta, between 1860 and 1874, Ramakrishna came in contact with Michael Madhusudan Dutt, Pandit Narayan Sastri, Dayananda Saraswati, Keshab Chandra Sen[2] and other leaders of thought and of religion and revealed to them the profound wisdom that was beneath the co-operation between East and West, between the force of reason and the power of faith which was not a blind acceptance, but a living and seeing intuition. Ramakrishna inspired his disciples to travel all over the world teaching that all forms of

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[1] Romain Rolland: Life of Ramakrishna, p 22.

[2] Sivanath Sastri: History of the Brahmo Samaj, Vol II. p 8.

The influence of Ramakrishna on Keshab is seen in his prayers to Mother, and in the imparting to his disciples at the Samaj, *Brahmagitopanishad* and the ways of *Jnana*, *Yoga*, *Bhakti* and *Seva Marga* of the realisation of the Infinite Being.

Girish Chandra Sen: The Life and Teachings of Ramakrishna Paramahamsa.

Quoted by Romain Rolland. p 178.

Hinduism and all religions lead to salvation, just as all rivers merge into the ocean. Just as there is a science in all things, there is also a science in the Dispensations of God. Beneath the apparently arbitrary and erratic movements of nature, anomalies and contradictions and fortuitous combinations of circumstances, there is a logical unity of idea and method and an unbroken continuity of sequence, which Ramakrishna enjoined his disciples to discover for themselves. He gathered the essential conceptions of Hindu polytheism, into an original structure of ecclectic spirituality which his disciples like Keshab Chander Sen recognised as important in making religion intelligible and acceptable to the masses.[1] Ramakrishna's defence of Vedantic and original Hinduism led to a wide reaction in favour of popular idolatry and temple worship. He realised the Identity of the Self with the one Reality and he taught that all religions are true in their essence, that the three great orders of metaphysical thought, Dualism, Qualified Monism, and Absolute Monism are the stages on the way to Supreme Truth; that in the scale of thought there is a corresponding scale of duties; that by purity and love and disinterested pursuit of truth, one has to achieve liberation from Desire. By this simple message of the unity of all religions, Ramakrishna stimulated the Brahma Samaj, Arya Samaj, Radhaswami Satsang, Bharata Dharma

[1] Max Muller: Ramakrishna, His life and Sayings.
" " The Nineteenth Century 1896.
Romain Rolland: The life of Ramakrishna, Note II, p 331.

Mahamandal and other socio-religious Societies and movements which had all dedicated themselves to bring about a national awakening.

Theosophical Movement

Another movement, that of Theosophy impressed the imagination of many at the same time when the Brahma Samaj, Arya Samaj and Ramakrishna Movements were teaching the fundamental unity of all religions and of Godhead and therefore, of the unity and solidarity of Hindu social organisation. The Theosophical Society was founded in 1875 in the South of India by a Russian Mme Blavatsky and an American Colonel Olcott; and the Society was to inculcate the doctrine of Universal Brotherhood and a scientific investigation of all religions, and of the occult powers that are latent in man. It preached a philosophy of self-introspection, pointing out to each man the sufficiency of his own faith, and urging him to deepen and spiritualise his beliefs rather than to attack the forms preferred by others.[1] This movement stimulated the Hindus to study their sacred texts, especially the *Gita* and the *Upanishads* which were published in Sanskrit by Colonel Olcott in six volumes. Theosophy considered Hinduism as the most profoundly spiritual religion in the world and directed its attention to the vindication of the Vedas against the rising flood of Christianity, as the Arya Samaj movement had done. In this oneness of purpose, the movement found many supporters including Dayananda whose Arya Samaj movement

[1] Mrs. Besant: Theosophy, p 69.

had identical objects.[1] With the withdrawal of Dayananda's co-operation, the Theosophical movement lost much of its influence as a religious body and organised itself as a Social reform movement devoted to the amelioration of the conditions of the masses and preparing the people through education for nationhood. The vast and liberal system of Hindu Metaphysics was twisted in a curious way by a new spirit of pragmatism; and a kind of pontifical and infallible authority demanding absolute conformity to its creed on the part of its adherents was established.

A new effort in the last decade of the century to focus the attention of India on the glory of its past history, metaphysics, philosophy and religion, was made by Mrs. Annie Besant to whom religion was indistinguishable from politics. Some of her statements were "Religion in its spiritual essence is one and indivisible, and the various religions are merely the intellectual representations of the basic Truth;" "philosophy, morality, science and politics, all are religious duties; none are to be put outside the role of religious work, for the moment you divorce any form of human activity from religion, that moment it becomes narrower and more selfish and results in selfishness;" "when the idea of the nation becomes dominant, then all the heroic deeds brought on every side by warrior hosts become the common pride of the united peoples who form the single nation;" "Patriotism has ever been one of the fair flowers of religion." Annie Besant

[1] Count H. Keyserling: Travel Diary of a Philosopher, 1918.

regarded that the needs of India among others was the development of a national spirit illumined by national and historic ideals and enriched by the great culture and thought of the West. Though the Theosophical movement stimulated national awakening in India, it could not acquire mass popularity, because of the authoritarianism of its creed and its esoteric character, and the preponderance of the Anglo-American element in the early phases of its evolution.

Positivism in India

The Theosophical movement directed the attention of the Hindu to metaphysics and the thought of the Vedas. The Positivist movement as formulated by Comte in France and adopted by Dwarakanath Mitter, Kamal and others recognised that the history of the human race passed through three main stages, the Theological, the Metaphysical, and the Positive. Positivism was a body of beliefs rooted and grounded in science; it excluded all metaphysical dogma, and aimed to build a civilisation sustained by a creed derived from the tested certainties of scientific knowledge. The drift of human thought was towards anthropocentricism, and from this mancentredness and the exaltation of the natural man, the Positivist was to move forward to anthropolatry, when Humanity was to become the Supreme Being, the centre of its own religion and the sole object of its own worship.

This Religion of Humanity was the creed of Justice Dwarkanath Mitter, Geddes, Lobb and Ram

Kamal, Professor of Sanskrit College, Calcutta, and others who were all thorough-going disciples of Comte. The public worship of Humanity or the *Cultus* of Positivism had not any peculiar fascination to the Hindu mind; many Indian Positivists could not reconcile themselves to a philosophy constructed on a physical basis and which accepted only the supreme conclusions of physical science denying the divine side of man and a divine order in the Universe. Thus, the celebrities of the age who could not accept Comte's religious principles and doctrines, embraced only Comte's intellectual and political basis of his system.[1]

In Mitter's time, as in the time of Comte there was a general discontent with traditional institutions and a widespread desire for reform, and the only firm basis for a reform of political and social institutions was a complete reorganisation of opinion and life determined by a uniform system of education, controlled and applied by a spiritual power that was accepted by all. It was a problem of shifting the balance from egoism and the self-regarding motives ruled by the instinct of self-preservation, to social motives ruled by love. Mitter was convinced that no enduring social order would be possible without the subjection of self-interest to collective interest.

To Mitter this religion of Humanity was what 'The Bible was to the Christian, the Koran to the Mahoma-

[1] Dinabandhu Sanyal: Life of Dwarakanath Mitter, 1883, p 141.

dan, the *Dharma Sastras* to the Hindus '.[1] The three types, the mother, the wife and daughter who formed the ideal of Humanity to Comte, had their counterparts in the numerous systems of the Hindus as the worship of *Mata*, *Sakti* and *Kumari* representing the three natural modes of Human continuity—the past, the present and the future—as also the three degrees of solidarity which bound men to their superiors, equals and inferiors.[2] The Positive method, and the science of Sociology the crowning effort of the positive philosophy, led the Indian Positivists to look with admiration at the institutions and customs hitherto sneered at. Mitter and others realised that no new order that was worth maintaining could long endure unless it rested upon a religious conception of life; the maintenance of the three institutions, religion, family and property was to be regarded as fundamental in Hindu society. Particularly in his time, Mitter feared that 'Progress was in the hands of the Anarchists and Order in those of Retrogressionists'. Besides, there was the need to apply the methods of science to the study of social facts as to the study of natural phenomena, and

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[1] Dinabandhu Sanyal: Life of Dwarakanath Mitter, p 129.

Mitter had correspondence with Dr. Congreve, Lobb, Geddes and others. Lobb wrote 'You are the only Bengalee that is not steeped up to his ears in metaphysicism. Can there be anything more surely a mark of metaphysical state than the constant and universal appeal to government to remedy all social and political wrongs?' , 24th October 1871.

[2] Dinabandhu Sanyal: Life of Dwarakanath Mitter, p 132.

through science to transform the physical, mental and moral condition of humanity.

Human society was not regulated by natural laws; and Comte had shown that the phenomena of human society are what they are, not merely as the result of human nature *per se* but as the result of *historical* human nature. Mitter respected most profoundly the doctrine of historical continuity. He stated that from the study of the past, it should be the endeavour to guide the present in the interest of the future. The future should ever be the legitimate offspring of the past. In all improvements "the present should be brought into harmony with the past, and only out of the transformation thus effected could arise a system, *improved* and not *disfigured* by alteration".[1] Mitter regretted that the tendency of the existing educational system was to undermine the social feelings of attachment, reverence, obedience and respect, and to generate in the minds of the rising generation, an undisguised contempt for the venerable traditions of the people. His reverence for the laws of Manu grew more and more every day. On the fly leaf of a copy of Sir William Jones, '*Manava Dharma Sastra*', Mitter wrote 'The spirit of innovation which is now so active among us and which professes to reform our society after the pattern of European civilization will simply shake the principles on which our society rests to their very foundation. The system established by Manu can only disappear with the national genius; and history knows no calamity more

1 Sanyal: Life of Dwarakanath Mitter pp. 143-145.

dreadful than the destruction of a nation's genius'. Mitter like Comte was a defender of caste as a necessary preparation for the higher attachments; he was equally a stout champion of the Brahmins and the system they represented[1] and pleaded that Hinduism ought not to be broken up prematurely. The Indian Positivists like the Ramakrishna Mission and Theosophy endeavoured to sustain the interest of their generation in the venerable institutions and traditions of the country inculcating the religion of humanity and the exaltedness of the individual.

Prarthana Samaj

The Prarthana Samaja movement founded by Ranade in 1867, had many supporters in the Maharashtra, and this movement unlike the Brahma Samaj developed a broad and sympathetic attitude towards the orthodox religious sentiments of the Hindus. Like the great religious reformers of the century, Ranade too was theistic and built his system of belief on the rock of the direct communion of the individual soul with the Soul of the Supreme Universe, to which the soul is linked by the tie of faith, hope and love. 'Indian Theism' he said 'is associated with no particular saint or prophet; it does not limit its education of man to a single trial in this world'. With it the Revelation is a perpetual stream which never ceases to

[1] Dr. Hunter: The Theosophist, 1883, p 12.

An obituary note on the great services of Mitter to the Motherland appeared in two wellknown dailies of Bengal,

Hindu Patriot: 2nd March 1874.

Indian Mirror: 1st March 1874.

flow ; it teaches toleration to all, self-sacrifice and the duty of love, not only of man to man, but to all animated beings'. To Ranade, religion was of a complex character, unlike social or political facts, as it is concerned about transcendental things ; "we can never demonstrate logically our reasons for the faith that we feel in the continuity of Nature and the uniform operation of its laws. All science ultimately resolves itself into a product of our faith in the trustworthiness of the everchanging Universe. This sense of trustworthiness is the slow growth of ages, which has as much a legitimate claim to our acceptance as the conclusions of science, which holds the torch of faith to the mystery of religion." [1] He had the conviction that the good of the past and the good of the present were indissolubly connected wherever there was a progressive movement of society, and thus claimed for his own religion, an inspiring historical past like the founders of the Brahma Samaj. He propounded during his time *Bhagavata Dharma* which he called Protestant Hinduism[2] whose chief feature was a long continued protest by saints and prophets through the ages against certain habits of thought and principles of action which had an inveterate tendency to encrust the true spirit of our faith, and to give a human coating which obscured from view the essentially divine element. The peculiar feature of this movement was that while there was protest and even denunciation of inherited habits of

1 Ranade : Theistic Confession of faith, p 11.

2 Ranade : Anniversary Address of the Prarthana Mandira, Bombay 1895.

thought and of living, it did not envisage a break with the past and a cessation of all connection with society. Ranade did not wish to break with the tradition of continuity. He did not wish to innovate, but merely asked his fellow countrymen to carry on the work of the saints and sages, who had modified during the centuries of stormy history, the strictness of the old spirit of caste exclusiveness, who raised the Sudra classes to a position of spiritual power and some social importance, and who gave sanctity to family relations by raising the status of women, and thus made the nation more humane and at the same time more pure to hold together by mutual toleration. The religious movements of the past had subordinated the importance of rites and ceremonies, to the higher excellence of worship by means of love and faith, had checked the excesses of polytheism and had tended in all these ways to raise the nation generally to a higher level of capacity, both of thought and of action and prepared it in a way no other nation in India was prepared, to take the lead in re-establishing a united native power in the place of foreign domination.[1]

Ranade was very much inclined towards the Ramanuja sect of Vedantism[2] and advocated the modified Advaita system of Ramanuja which had played its part in Indian philosophy and to which could be traced the rise and progress throughout India of the Vaishnava sects which had attained to a higher and

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1 Ranade: Address on Hindu Protestantism, p 30.

2 M. B. Kolaskar: Religious and Social Reform. 1902. intro IX.

truer conception of Theism than any of the other prevailing systems. Ranade was not satisfied with the iconoclastic spirit of the Brahma Samaj, Arya Samaj and other Reformist movements, which in their dissatisfaction with the fullness and details and dogmatic assertiveness of established religions, and as a first effort of reaction, had pleaded for an Unitarian Church with a simple creed consisting of only one positive belief in the unity of God and brotherhood of man, accomplished with a protest against the existing corruption of the Hindu religion. Furthermore, the Reform movements while asserting the unity of God had unconsciously borrowed in an ecclectic way their complement of intellectual beliefs from the very religion which they condemned. Ranade was in favour of Theism built on a broad foundation of beliefs with which the people were already familiar as a result of the teachings of the great saints, *sadhus* and sages of the past.

The cardinal principles of belief which Ranade accepted, after a careful inquiry by the historical method, into the established religions of the world, were: The Theist believes that there is a religious or spiritual element in our human nature; he believes in the gradual and progressive development of the idea which man's religious consciousness has formed of the *Power* beyond man controlling him and the world of matter; this conception of God is a necessity of our self-consciousness, One without a Second; the precise character of the relation existing between God and the material creation is a mystery transcending human knowledge; in the Universe of matter and spirit, God's

influence is actively immanent, and forms the essence and the life of the human soul in its nobler aspirations and workings. The Theist believes that the soul is immortal, and that according to its deserts in this life will happiness or misery be meted out to it in the other world. Therefore, the present state of existence is one of trial and preparation, a state of probation and discipline, in virtue and piety, qualifying man for a future sphere of existence. Man has a sense of helplessness and dependence, but also has a measure of free agency, sufficient to fix the responsibility of his acts on him, and to enable him to achieve freedom by effort and by self-conquest. Difficulties, temptations and dangers require in us habits of self-denial and discipline, and so our present state is one not merely of trial, but of discipline also, in habits of self-government. When the human soul tried and purified by self-government and resignation acquires habits which enable it to escape from its trammels and its lusts, it enters into more intimate relations with God, and realises the blessings of His Presence and Holiness. This consummation of the Soul is Salvation and it is effected under God's Grace by faith, devotion, prayer, and submission to God's Providence by the love of man and love of God, and by the practice of virtue and piety.

Ranade pleaded that no distinction between man and man should be made, as all are equally the children of God He put forth a defence on behalf of idolatry as it was a stage of progress from the form of worship of pure and simple fetishism; he believed that the

institution of an organised body of priests was of great use in conserving the interests of religion, that congregational prayer must supplement private devotions, and that temples and prayer-houses for purposes of congregational prayer were needed, that solemn events of life, births, initiations should be clothed with a religious sanction, and that religious teachings should chiefly be directed to the inculcation of the unselfish and austere and self-denying virtues.[1] Ranade warned his generation that they should always be on their guard or not to forget that 'the work of regeneration was one of self-effort alone, and could not be done by substitution', and that authority which was revered, should have no more potent claim in matters of religion than in social and political life and should be challenged if it extended beyond its legitimate limits as to prohibit the use of reason.

The service of the country and the amelioration of the conditions of the people were the religion of the Theists. Politics was influenced by religion, and religious ideas and practices were to subserve political ends. The Reformers from Ram Mohan Roy to Ranade had devoted themselves to religious reform with a view to prepare the mind of their countrymen for social regeneration, and through it for political freedom from alien domination. Love and service for India irrespective of sectarian differences formed the basis of a new religion. Mr. Gokhale instead of placing spiritual ideals before the 'Servants of India', appealed to them to regard India and its progress as the highest ideal

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1 Ranade: A Theist's Confession of Faith, p 27.

towards which their mind and soul could aspire, and to launch on a campaign in a religious spirit for the building up of a higher type of character and capacity than was available. And, in furthering the moral and political advancement of India, the members of his Society were enjoined to proceed on constitutional lines, and to accept 'the British connection, as ordained in the inscrutable Dispensation of Providence for India's good '.[1]

Muslim Religious Reform movements

The Muslims in India were slower than the Hindus in benefitting from the contact of western ideas and institutions. As the British had overthrown Muslim power, anti-British feeling was strong among the Muslims, and accordingly, they avoided any contact with the culture and education which the British had introduced into India. The landed classes and the aristocracy were too proud of their Persian language and their way of life to rapidly assimilate western ideas and learn the English language for social and political purposes. Islam preached a world brotherhood of Muslims, and a fundamental religious unity which naturally retarded the growth of a common nationalism in India. Ruth Woodsmall says, 'Anyone who has spent a single day in India is conscious of the omnipresent authority of religion, since all religions in India allow so little variations from the established orthodox idea. Islam in India accordingly has assumed a restrictive social force which

[1] R. W. Fraser: Indian Thought, Past and Present, p. 328.

is far more rigid than in any other country.' [1] The consciousness of being surrounded by a strong numerically overpowering force like Hinduism tended to put the Muslim minority on the defensive, and the effort to assert and safeguard Muslim identity as a community showed itself in many ways. The Muslims had jealously protected their language, Islamic culture and had carefully maintained distinctive social customs. The consciousness of being a religious minority had dictated the emphasis upon the distinctive features of Islam, with the result, the Muslims in India were still much more imbued with the idea of Pan-Islam than Muslims elsewhere. The inveteracy of this consciousness and the desire to retain affiliations with the outside forces of Islam, ran counter to the stream of Indian nationalism which ignored outside relationships, and thus made the nationalists and the Congressites of the last decades of the nineteenth century entertain a deep distrust of the Muslim, who was first Muslim and then an Indian. The opposition of the orthodox Muslims to compulsory education, women's rights and such other social legislation illustrated the prevailing attitude toward any infringement of the Islamic law that was held inviolable. The right of Muslims to control their social system under the *Shariat* was tenaciously upheld, and national religious conservatism which would oppose any attack on the religious law was intensified by the communal consciousness of a religious minority.

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[1] Ruth Frances Woodsmall : Moslem women enter a new World, p 389.

It must be noted that in spite of the apathy, insularity and exclusiveness of the Muslims, there were revivalist movements lacking the soul and temper of Nationalism, but determined to promote an educational and social awakening among the Muslims. O'Mailley mentions of four Movements started by Shaik Karamat Ali of Jaunpur, Haji Shariat-ullah of Faridpur, Syed Abdul Aziz of Delhi, and Syed Ahmed of Bareili.[1] These progressive Muslims had little interest in the idea of an Islamic Empire outside of India, but their thought was concentrated not on the unification of the world of Islam, but on the educational and social amelioration of the community. As a liberalising force, these movements dedicated themselves to change the Moslem outlook in India, to make them politically conscious, create a Muslim intelligentsia and through them as instruments of progress, awaken Muslim national consciousness.

The Aligarh movement was to spread western education, reinterpret the social message of the Qoran, harmonise the tenets of Islam with modern liberalism, to introduce social reform by advancing education among women, and ultimately evolve a distinct social and cultural community. The Ahmediyah movement was concerned primarily with the interpretation of the social teachings of Islam in terms of modern progress. Motivated by the spirit of defence of Islam against Western criticism, it built up a strong apologia of the Muslim social system with its veil, polygamy, divorce and inheritance. The movement gave complete latitude of

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[1] O'Mailley : Modern India and the West. p 393.

interpretation to the Sayings of the Qoran, and by the introduction of the idea of change and through its reinterpretation of Islamic law and establishing its compatibility with progress, it worked out a gradual emancipation of the community and Muslim womanhood. In this effort of deepening the relationship of the Muslims to Qoran, and its social teachings, the progressive Muslim opinion of the movement was concerned more with positive results than with a reconciliation of Islamic teachings and modern progress.[1]

Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan was the most important figure among the Muslims who realised that Muslim safety and property depended upon the stability of British Rule in India.[2] His sole object was to resurrect the community by weaning it from its policy of opposition, to one of acquiescence and participation in British government. He was born in 1817 of aristocratic parents, and received his education in the old traditional manner, and he tried between 1857 and 1869 to bring about sympathetic understanding between the government and the ruled. His voyage to England in 1870 changed his outlook profoundly.[3] Dazed by European civilisation and its supposed superiority to Indian civilization, he made efforts to permeate his community with western culture and to persuade Muslims to look upon religion as a private affair and abstain from mixing it with politics. He started an *Urdu* Journal modelled on the *Spectator* and *Tatler*

[1] Ameer Ali : The Spirit of Islam.

[2] Vambery : Western culture in Eastern lands, p 190.

[3] Graham : Life and Work of Sir Sayid Ahmed Khan, p 53.

with a view to bring about humanitarian reforms for a new social class.[1] He built up a movement within the community for the foundation of a separate University which would act as a machinery of dissemination for the new Muslim attitude on both social and religious affairs. The object of the University was to help Muslims to acquire an English education without prejudice to their religion.[2] The Founders of the Aligarh College pompously proclaimed that 'The British Rule in India is the most wonderful phenomenon the world has ever seen'[3] and accordingly, desired to make the College pro-British with a Curricula that was a replica of the Western one. With cultural allegiance to the West went a political loyalty that was equally explicit.[4]

Ahmed Khan had absorbed the spirit of western culture, especially its rationalism; his mind was not enslaved to the authority of tradition and Canon Law, and he rejected the Canonal traditions from Muslim religious texts and brought out the relevance of the Qoran to the new society of his own day. The transition from a pre-bourgeois to a bourgeois life was marked by an attack on reliance on ancient authorities. The nature of bourgeois life was such that it was constantly changing, developing and producing new and more

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1 Graham: Life and Teachings of Sir Sayid Ahmed Khan, p 145.

2 Farquhar: Modern Religious Movements in India, p 94.

3 Graham: Life and Teachings of Sir Sayid Ahmed Khan, p 178.

4 Wilson: Modern Movements among Moslems, p 188.

complex situations. The new individual who was now without authority, in such a predicament could never develop a new authority, and thus was himself persuaded to become morally responsible as to how decide questions on his own. Being himself morally responsible, the Muslim needed principles of guidance and moral generalisations to adjust himself to the new Society though the details of adjustment could wait being worked out.

In such a situation Sayid Ahmed Khan attempted to make Islam thoroughly compatible with progress, by coopting the British culture of the 19th century with its new learning, its liberal and humanitarian morality and its scientific rationalism. He maintained althrough his life, an ardent and sustained pro-British policy and fought that anti-British sentiment into which his community was tempted by the Pan-Islamic excitement roused by the Balkan War.[1] Equally passionate was his pleading with the Muslims as not to give rise to suspicions of disloyalty, and in 'The Indian United Patriotic Association' which he formed, he advocated the desirability of getting advantages directly from the hands of the British rather than from 'a so-called National Congress' which he despised. Sayid Ahmed Khan regarded Hindus and Muslims as belonging to only one nation though the words Hindu and Muslim were meant only for religious distinctions, and therefore advised Muslims and Hindus to stay out of the Congress, because the movement was disrespectful. It must be noted that in this policy of hostility to the

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[1] K. B. Krishna: The Problem of Minorities, p 97.

Congress, he was actively supported by the British Government which realised that the policy of suppression of Muslims which it had adopted after the Mutiny was dangerous, and therefore after 1870 took to a policy of 'favour and nurture' of the Muslims, and to develop their communal feeling in order to make the Muslims, hostile to the Hindu Revivalist movements and to Hindu political agitation.

Summary :

The different Religious Reform movements had succeeded in awakening the consciousness of the people to a sense of spiritual values and to a conception of the Oneness of Godhead and Unity and Brotherhood of mankind. The movements were initiated by the educated middle classes and they claimed the largest number of adherents from the middle classes who defended the property system and thought of the bourgeoisie and looked upon bourgeois democracy as a harbinger of universal happiness. The Indian middle classes like their European counterparts failed to see the minor contradictions of Capitalism and of Democracy and of their inevitable collapse, and believed that for the achievement of their ideals, only will-power, religious, social and political reform were necessary. Religion, nationalism and humanity were all genuine motives of political action, values for which the Reformers and the middle classes strove disinterestedly, but none of them could stand against the dynamics of economic change. It never occurred to the middle classes that history was a dynamic process of change, and that history moves along lines broadly determined by social and economic conditions, and not by legis-

lators or philosophers. The middle class in its struggle against feudalism had championed the cause of reason against mysticism, and of science against superstition and they had generated a new philosophy of life and a new culture which they sought to realise in political and social institutions of morals and of legislation. They assumed that capitalism and liberal nationalism were the final stages of evolution and the principles of their culture absolute.

The philosophy of materialism had no appeal to them, and they failed to perceive that man is not confronted with a mechanical Universe, which he can operate as he pleases, and that he is not enslaved to unchanging laws of society. That man was between liberty and determinism, and that the history of man was the history of scientific prediction and control were not realised and appreciated. The educated class and the liberals never recognised that guidance to their actions should be discovered not in one's conscience, nor in a Transcendental Entity, but outwardly in the fact of one's social environment ; once they grasped the pattern of historical process from conflict to harmony, and from harmony to conflict, they would be able to base their social and political programme on sound scientific ground, and appreciate the importance of fashioning one's own world as a condition precedent of self-realisation.

Agnosticism, scepticism and materialism had no appeal to the educated classes, and it is significant that not a single agnostic and materialist philosopher could be found among the Religious Reformers of the

century. The philosophy of Marx was not popular, probably because English thinkers and statesmen abstained from making references to him and to his philosophy ; and likewise no thinker or reformer of repute mentioned of Marx and his Dialectical Materialism.

All the Reformers of the century were Theists. Rationalists as Ram Mohan Roy and others were, still they did not repudiate the past of their country as the sheet anchor of the present. Ramakrishna, Ram Mohan Roy, Dayananda, Besant and Ranade believed in the divinity of the Vedas, while Keshav Chandra Sen and Positivists believed in a synthesis of reason and intuition. From the study of the Religious Reform movements one gathers that politics and social reform of the century were steeped in Mysticism and Transcendentalism. With faith in a Transcendental Deity and Conscience as guide, the individual was to emancipate himself from the stain of *Karma*, and from the fetters of foreign domination. The philosophy was founded on idealistic reasoning than upon factual evidence and the material achievements of civilisation. The Reformers could not realise that achievements would be possible only by certain working and living conditions and not through the influence of ideas ; that history is not a piece of political *statics*, but of a political *dynamics* in which the equilibrium is reached through a process of conflict. While freedom from the thraldom of centuries and the galling tutelage of a foreign power has been normally achieved elsewhere by agitation, conflict, modification and even destruction of the ideas of those

who obstructed their path of progress. Indian reformers aimed at the achievement of freedom by self-introspection, devotional faith, and belief in the infallible guidance of ancient wisdom,. and by gradual and slow amelioration of the conditions of society which were pre-ordained, by love. While in other countries philosophy came too late to teach the country what it should be, and as Hegel says, 'The owl of Minerva began to take its flight when the shades of the night had already fallen' philosophic thought in India, activised politics and gave a standard of political conduct and action, and inspired the generation for a supreme spiritual effort for freedom.

It is paradoxical that this artery of thought was imbedded in the body politic of India whose philosophy and method of reform, during the century merely subserved British thought and interests. The liberalism of England with its hatred of dialectical materialism and repugnance to class consciousness, was the liberalism of India; the ideal of freedom worked out by England and by the Western nations was India's ideal, with the individualistic concepts of the rights of property and private enterprise with their corollary, the economic institutions of banking and merchant enterprise. There was also the desire in India to continue this development to the stage of Industrial Capitalism, and this could be achieved if capitalism was accompanied in the political sphere by the substitution for the old order, of representative institutions and a modern system of law. This political aspect of Indian liberalism was closely connected with two movements:

one for national self-determination, and the other for the abolition of caste supremacy over the different aspects of social life, and of idolatry and polytheistic practices. The movements had as their objective democratic nationalism, industrialism, political equality and emancipation, and rationalism.

Social Reform Movements

The religious movements of the century emphasised the importance of the individual with a new sense of responsibility, dictated by reason rather than by authority, tradition and Revelation. The principle of the autonomy of the individual in society was established. At the same time religion was revealed as a spring of social idealism, continuing to furnish the inspiration and the motive for the realisation of ideal social ends. Human history had shown the struggle for social justice, and a widening and intensification of mutual service. Increasing mutual service with decreasing exploitation was involved in the social progress of the country. Therefore, religion strove to develop in individuals the attitude of mutual service, to decrease exploitation and to mould Indian institutions so as to promote social justice. It was the sense of justice alone that could bring about the renovation of society, and justice was the corner-stone of every reform, social, political or religious. Political agitation that was carried on during the period was based on the feeling that justice was not done to the people by the government; so too, was the demand for social reform which was to further reciprocal activity and hearty

co-operation between all individuals in order to achieve perfection of society. Justice was therefore the life blood of all reform. Ranade stated on the occasion of the Ninth National Social Conference held in Poona, that "what is necessary in order that the reforms may come into practice is that there spring in our hearts a sense of justice, a keen sympathy for the sufferings of others and a love for one's own country and race and an anxiety for their future wellbeing. If the feelings have been awakened in us with any degree of intensity, they cannot fail to realise themselves in some sort of action." [1]

The impact of western ideas on Indian society was so strong, that the collective life of the community on reaching a certain degree of intensity, had awakened religious thought by bringing about a state of effervescence which changed the conditions of psychic activity in India. Concentration brought about an exaltation of mental life which took form in a group of ideal conceptions in which was portrayed the new life that was awakened. Vital energies were over-excited, passions became more active and sensations stronger and Reformers of the order of Dayananda, Keshab Chandra Sen and Ramakrishna found themselves transformed, and consequently transformed the environment which surrounded them, attributed a higher sort of dignity to the profane world about them and tried to recreate it by creating an ideal. It was not so much their intellectual supremacy as the

[1] Report of the Ninth National Social Conference held in Poona on the 29th and 31st December 1895, p 3.

irresistible power of their emotional nature that stirred up the Indian masses for the sacrifice of their inherited habits of thinking and of living. At no other time than in the last quarter of the century, did India feel the need of upholding and reaffirming the collective sentiments and collective ideas which made its unity and personality. This moral remaking could not be achieved except by means of unions of the different castes, and meetings of the different groups of people, by abolishing caste differences, and helping in the affirmation in common, the common sentiment of the masses. Keshab Chandra Sen in his Address in Bombay in 1868, stated, 'if you wish to regenerate this country, make religion, the basis of all your reform movements ... All the social reforms, are involved in this grand radical reformation—religious reformation. Questions of social reform will not then apply to you as matters of worldly expediency, but as questions of vital moral importance, and will come upon you with all the weight of moral obligation.' [1] On the basis of theistic ideas, the Brahmo Samaj and others had developed a social organisation and had formed communities by themselves. The impulse to social reform came from the religious ideas of the unity of God and brotherhood of man.

The reformers of the day felt that the strongest of the forces which were steadily bearing nations onward to improvement or decay were the moral ones; that 'the moral law is the unchanging law of progress in human society is the lesson which appears to be written

[1] Keshab Chander Sen: Address to Yuvaka Sangha 1868.

over all things' declared Ranade in the language of the great historian Lecky, and therefore 'in the silent and strenuous rivalry in which every section of the race is of necessity continually engaged, permanent success appears to be invariably associated with certain ethical and moral conditions favourable to the maintenance of a high standard of social efficiency and with those conditions only. If social efficiency and consequent success are what we desire in our contest with other races, we must, because the law is immutable, endeavour to realise those ethical and moral conditions. We must cultivate in our hearts the great forces which bring about the reform of society, viz truth, justice and sympathy, and at the same time allow free play for the energies and capacities of all. And the necessity for our doing so becomes the more imperative from our political condition. Our permanent political well-being is essentially the outcome of our moral state. The moral law seeks to purify private life, and to effect social justice, and through these alone is the political well-being of a nation possible.' [1]

The creation of the necessary ethical and moral conditions in society means the realisation of the consciousness of the degradation of the spirit of humanity in social life, and therefore the need for the resurrection of the individual as well as the impulse to reform society to suit changed circumstances, developing situations and ideals. English education had acted as an irritant in

[1] Report of the Ninth National Social Conference held in Poona, Dec. 1895. p 13.

the social organism of the Hindus, and the men of the century had been appalled by the decay and corruption of society, with its idolatry and caste, tyranny of custom, and as Keshab stated by the dominance of an ignorant and crafty prieshood making some demand in daily life for the sacrifice of one's conscience, some temptation to hypocrisy, some obstacle to the individual's improvement and true happiness; the root of all evils which afflict Hindu society, that which constitutes the chief cause of its degradation, is idolatry.[1] Likewise, the most representative Indians of the century, reformers, philanthropists and workers had moved on from a speculative and passive belief in dogmas to an appraisal of the limitations and to the criticism of Hindu social organisation.

Distinguished men of letters, pundits, lawyers, industrial magnates and others drawn from different parts of the country set their heart to form a national brotherhood based on the unity and solidarity of Hindu society. Raja Rammohan Roy, Keshab Chander Sen, Isvarchandra Vidyasagar, Dwarakanath Mitter, Ram Gopal Ghosh, Harish Chander Mukherji, Kristodas Pal, Rajendralal Mitra, Krishna Mohan Banerji, Mano Mohan Ghose, Bankim Chander Chatterji were the most distinguished Bengalees who dedicated their lives for the cause of religious and social reform of Hindu society. The other equally distinguished savants, humanitarians and social workers

[1] Keshab Chander Sen: Appeal to Young India. Address 1867.

were drawn from Maharashtra and the South of India. These were Raja Sir Madhava Rao (1828-1890), Vembakam Ramiengar (1826-1887), C. V. Rangacharlu (1831-1882), C. V. Runganath Sastri (1819-1889), Tiruvarur Muthuswamy Aiyar (1832-), Professor Tandalam Gopal Rao (1832-1883), Pundi Rungnath Mudaliar (1847-1894), Gazulu Lakshminarasu Chetty (1800-1875), Sir Munguldas Nathubhoy (1832-90), Gokul Das Tejpal (1822-1867), Naoroji Furdunji (1817-1885), Sarabji Shapurji Bengali (1831-1893), Viswanath Narayan Mandalik (1833-1889), Mahipatram Rupram Nilkanth (1829-1891), Pandit Bapu Deva Sastri (1821-1892), Kasinath Trimbak Telang (1850-1893), Kursendas Mulji (1832-1875), Bhau Daji (1821-1874), Raja Sir Dinkar Rao (1819-1896), Ajudhya Nath (1840-), Gopal Rao Hari Bhide (1843-1896), Sir Salar Jung (1829-83) and Ranade and B. M. Malabari.

These celebrities of the century were engaged in different phases of activity which included female education, widow marriage, foreign travel, intermarriages between sub-castes and jatis, postponement of infant marriages, prohibition of ill-assorted marriages, anti-nautch and temperance movements, admission of converts from other faiths, and similar other questions vitally affecting the social fabric of the Hindus. They were interested in the creation and transmission of ideal values, the discovery and diffusion of knowledge, beliefs and ideas by which the society could regulate their conduct ; in giving direction to the irresistible impulses of innate forces of society ; in perfecting man's intellectual, moral and physical

qualities by destroying artificial inequalities between the several castes and jatis in the social system. The reformers worked hard to remove fear in the hearts of the people, to stabilise social institutions, to encourage the growth of voluntary associations and to spread the spirit of toleration and decision by compromise. Their primary objective in their unremitting exertions and personal sacrifice was to establish social unity and organisation by the elevation and expansion of the individual mind, by greater and greater respect for individual expansion and enlargement realised in the diffusion and extension of equal justice, equal rights, equal privileges and equal opportunities and practical equalisation of material and social conditions.

The philosophy of the social reformers was to increase wealth with greater economic freedom, to provide for greater individuality of action in the political life, and to secure a more exact definition and greater assurance of the rights of the individual and the community in the legal sphere and thus establish a harmony and a synthesis of the social forces of solidarity and individuality. John Stuart Mill's book 'Liberty' was a University text book during the last decades of the century, and his advocacy of freedom and variety and individuality was appreciated by the students and professors of the Universities, while the tendency of the mass mind was to discourage social experiment, to denounce novelty as heterodoxy, and to iron out differences by demanding conformity with existing codes. The younger generation had learnt actually to encourage heterodoxies which by giving scope for dissent would give opportunity to truth. 'Reform is the work of liberation,' said Ranade,

'liberation from the restraints imposed upon an essentially superior religion, law and polity, institutions and customs, by our surrender to the pressure of mere brute force for selfish advancement'.[1]

There were two ways of effecting change in the life of the people, Revival or Reform. The revival of old institutions and customs was a retrograde step, for usages would undergo change, by a slow process of growth, and decay and corruption, and thus would become unsuitable to succeeding generations and times. Revivalism, as s return to the past was anachronistic but in the sense of reverence to the past was the foundation of social reconstruction, for then, it was a continuous re-adjustment of the old to new conditions by a process of evolution, rather than of revolution. If revival was impossible, reformation was the only alternative open to the sensible and the educated middle classes. The principle on which reformation was to be based was to be discovered by a reference to the past as well as to the contemporary present. A policy of proper understanding and appreciation of the past and an adaptation of the relevant past to the altered circumstances of the present accomplished with moderation, wisdom and right direction, had the acceptance of a large body of educated public opinion. It was the immediate past that had stranded the people into difficulties in which they found themselves, and had made them pay the penalty of weakness, hesitation and self-seeking and mutual jealousies. In the words of Ranade it was the past of

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1 Ranade: Address delivered at the I.N.S. Conference, Amraoti, 1897.

the great ancestors in whose time, philosophies were developed, literature and science grew up and the people went to far off lands with the message of the *upanishads* that should awaken the feelings of pride and of attachment, for, the Hindus represent a continuity of creed, of traditions, of literature, of philosophy, of modes of life and forms of thought which are peculiar to this land.[1] The Hindu cannot break with the past altogether, for it is a rich inheritance, and he has no reason to be ashamed of it. But while respecting the past, he must ever seek to correct the practical growths that have encrusted it '.[2]

The attitude of the Indian Liberal, then, was one of cautious innovation, and a reconstruction of society on a new basis altogether. It was an attitude that deprecated the stolid indifference to change representing the decrepitude of old age, and the sanguineness of temper which indicated the difference between the child and the man. It was the severe discipline of a high purpose, and the Liberals were intended to be prepared to be fulfillers of the mission which had still not been accomplished. Ranade said, 'The results are to be achieved in ourselves, and not by change of extraneous circumstances. And these results are to be achieved, and the change has to be brought about in a way which it would be difficult to anticipate at present.[3]...

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1 Ranade: Commemoration Address: 'The Telang School of thought', at the Hindu Union Club, Bombay, 1895.

Naik: Telang, The Man and his Times, p 55.

C. Y. Chintamani: Indian Social Reform, Part II, p 36.

2 ,, ,, ,, ,, p 30.

3 Ranade: Address on 'The Telang School of Thought', P 12.

The liberation that has to be sought is not in one department of life, or in one sort of activity, or in one sphere of thought, but it is an all-round work in which you cannot dissociate one activity from another.[1] It was not merely the outward form that had to be changed, but the inward form, the thought and the idea which determined the outward form, for it was the inward forms and ideas that had hastened the cultural political and social decline of India. 'These were' in the words of Ranade ' isolation, submission to outward force or power more than to the voice of the inward conscience, perception of factitous difference between men and men, due to heredity and birth, a passive acquiescence in evil or wrong-doing and a general indifference to secular well-being, almost bordering upon fatalism '.[2]

These root ideas of the Indian social system had led to the subordination of woman to man, of the lower castes to the higher castes and to general degradation. Reformers of Ranade and Telang school of thought laid great emphasis on the working out of a change from constraint to freedom, from credulity to faith, from status to contract, from authority to reason, from bigotry to toleration, from blind fatalism to a sense of human dignity. The whole aim of social reform was to rediscover the individual, to make the original springs of life work and give the nation a new vitality. 'The end of social reform' Ranade stated, ' was to renovate, to purify and also to perfect the whole man by liberating

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1 Ranade: Commemoration Address, The Telang School of Thought. p 15.

2 ,, Revival of Social Reform, p 23.

his intellect, by elevating his standard of duty and by perfecting all his powers. Renovated, purified and perfected individuals alone will help India to take her proper place among the nations of the world.[1]

Isolation had to give place to fraternity or rather elastic expansiveness and cohesion in society by the obliteration of the personal, narrow communal and fault-finding view of fissiparous tendencies and groups. Secondly, respect for oneself had to be inspired and all complexes that had benumbed the faculty of conscience and of the sense of innate dignity, had to be removed, for it was the sense of helplessness of man and of dependence on others' wills brought about by one's Karma that had enforced India's surrender to Muslims and the British. Heredity and birth had to be controlled and set back by a properly trained will subservient only to God, and acquiescence in wrong or evil-doing, in poverty, wretchedness, tyranny, fraud force and other impurities, as an inevitable condition of human life, had to be corrected by a healthy sense of the true dignity of human nature, and of man's high destiny. In the words of Ranade 'the only way to remove deformity was to place ourselves under the discipline of better ideas and forms'.[2]

Among the Social Reformers, some advocated social conversion as a prelude to religious conversion, and these were the Christian Reformers and Samajists;

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[1] Ranade: Revival or Reform, p 18.

[2] C. Y. Chintamani, Indian Social Reform p. 92·93.
M. B. Kolaskar, Religious and Social Reform p. 177.

Malabari pleaded for the organisation of social reform campaign to the exclusion of all else, and to him and his School of thought, social reform could go independently of political and religious reform; others advocated individual and even collective sacrifice to reform the state and its institutions so as to achieve social freedom and justice; Telang stated that political reform should precede social reform, for political reform could proceed along the lines of least resistance, and could bring about the union of all forces—orthodox and progressive, Hindus and Muhammadans, in political action, and thus give the people a new capacity for social advancement.[1] The method of revival of interest in customs and practices of the past rationalised with age and experience was not tenable.

A complete break with the past and revolt against ideational and institutional survival, though attractive, was unacceptable to the masses, as that method was like the ship in the uncharted sea, without a compass and a sense of destiny and anchorage. The method of individual cultivation in the intellectual and moral spheres as a prelude to widespread social reform was plausible. Ranade and his School devoted themselves to the awakening of the conscience of the community as a method of accomplishing institutional change; the necessity of an all-round activity was emphasised; Ranade stated at Satara 'You cannot have a good social system, when you find yourself low in the scale of political rights, nor can you be fit to exercise political rights and privileges unless your social system is based on

[1] C. Y. Chintamani: Indian Social Reform, p 305.

reason and justice. ... If your religious ideas are low and grovelling, you cannot succeed in social, economic or political spheres. This interdependence is not an accident, but is the law of our nature. ... What applies to the human body holds good of the collective humanity, we call the society or state. It is a mistaken view which divorces considerations political, from social and economical, and no man can be said to realise his duty in one aspect who neglects his duties in the other directions.' [1]

Besides, Ranade pleaded that both the Hindus and Mahomedans had to persevere on right lines, as both of them were equal sinners 'in the backwardness of female education, in the disposition to overleap the bounds of their own religion, in the matters of temperance and creeds, in the indulgence of impure speech, thought and action, in the abuses of many customs in regard to unequal and polygamous marriages, and in the decay of public spirit.' [2]

Ranade and Malabari were inspired in their social work by Lord Ripon's administration opening out a path for political activity for the indigenous intellect of the country, as well as by the amendment of the Criminal Procedure Bill[3] which placed the Europeans on the same footing as the natives in the eye of the administration of criminal law. Malabari in his pam-

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1 Ranade : Address at the Provincial Conference at Satara.

2 Ranade : Address " Indian National Social Conference," Lucknow, 1899.

3 Ram Chandra Palit : Speeches and Published Resolutions of Lord Ripon, Calcutta. 1882, p 235.

phlets, noted the importance of the transference of political equality to social and domestic spheres. Both discovered what the government could achieve by way of legislation in social matters, and resented the government's attitude embodied in the Government of India Resolution of 1886 which stated that 'legislation, though it may be didactic in its effect, should not be undertaken for merely didactic purposes; and in the competition of influence between legislation on the one hand, and caste or custom on the other, the condition of success on the part of the former is that the legislature should keep within its natural boundaries, and should not, by overstepping these boundaries, place itself in direct antagonism to social opinion'.[1] Ranade felt that 'it was very necessary to give the force and sanction of law to that responsible sense of the most enlightened men in the community and as embodied in their practices and usages. As the state in its collective capacity represents the power, the wisdom, the mercy and charity of its best citizens, it must give effect to wholesome movements which might die for want of support. The regulating action of the state, as regards the enforcement of education, sanitation, factory legislation, age of minority and of marriage or for making contracts was duly marked out clearly in the administrative life of every country and the responsibility of government in this sphere was exclusive.

The movement was in the direction of freeing social relations from the binding character of religious

[1] Kolaskar: Religious and Social Reform, Intro. XXV.

injunctions and effecting a change from the law of status to the law of contract, from the restraints of family and caste customs to the self-imposed restraints of the free-will of the individual.[1] Many reformers of the period favoured a graduated change, and to give to both custom which was the conservative element, and to legislative enactment the radical element, their due importance. Legislation in social matters was not merely to be the statutory confirmation of existing usages, but the creation of rules that custom could not supply, so as to release society from rules which no longer comported with the best interests of all. All the Social Reformers favoured permissive rather than compulsory legislation.

Laws were to be distinguished according to the source whence their binding authority was conceived to come, the means by which their contents were made known to or were discovered by men, and according to the character of the facts or acts to which they applied. The source of law was God, reason, or the fiat of some human authority. Individual reason, custom and tradition or the published will of legislators were the means by which the content of law was made known; laws could have reference to internal acts of the will or could be regulative of outward acts; and the sanction or coercive power in the case of moral acts was social disapprobation in the event of their violation;.

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1 Ranade : Address on State Legislation in social matters, p 11.15.

Malabari : Notes on Infant marriage and enforced widowhood.

and penalties determined and applied by the politically governing power in the case of violation of outward social or political conduct.

A certain section of the Reformers favoured legislation of a prohibitive sort devised to suppress by threats of punishment evil tendencies of human nature. Ranade, Telang and other enlightened social Reformers believed that men could more easily be influenced to do right than intimidated from wrong. The principles used in horticulture should indicate the method to be followed in legislation, for, there is much potential perfectability in human nature, and social conditions could be so adjusted by legislation as to assist in the development of this, when evil tendencies will thereby atrophy from disuse. Preventive, probative and reformative legislation of this order would then be a great aid to social morality. But, the success of social legislation could be achieved only when the people became intelligent enough to formulate such legislation regularly or when there was the growth of an intelligent public opinion dependent on general scientific knowledge, political intelligence and civic patriotism. Good government would come, as Plato stated, when there were wise legislators, or when legislators became wise.

The hindering factors to social reconstruction were : the resentment of the classes whose interests were endangered by a moral campaign, the absence of a long outlook, the primitive attitude of fear and distrust towards the State, the other-worldliness of Hindu desire, the ascetic and monastic ideals of the Hindus, ceremonialism, dogmatism, and above all, the absence

of the intellectual prerequisites for social reconstruction. Accordingly, the Reformers were compelled to set forth certain canons of social reconstruction, based on wisdom and experience; and these were, that reforms should be preceded by a close sociological study of the situation which was to be changed, that the change should be tried on a small scale before being adopted on a large scale; that the reforms should be the outcome of a social movement, and should move according to legal and constitutional methods; and finally, that the reforms should square with essential realities and should not do violence to human nature.

The attitude of all the Reformers was to accomplish social reform by education in gradual stages and without artificially forcing the pace of reform. It was a central conviction that the final hope of social salvation lay in education, both in the Universities and outside, when ideas would penetrate far deeper than political or social institutions working silently and for the most part unobserved, and effecting a grander change than the change of outward sovereignty. The conscience of the community would be awakened, and the work of the community then would be the pursuit of high ideals, mutual sympathy and co-operation, perfect tolerance and an earnest desire to apply suitable remedies. The interference in social matters was to be from Indians themselves, and the initiation to be based chiefly upon the wisdom of the past and dictated by the selfless intelligentsia of the country. The interference was not to be from foreign initiation; equally, the Reformers were to be highly considerate and circumspect as to the

limitations of the doctrine of State interference, though legally, socially and morally State interference as a mode of social reform was justifiable.

Some Problems of Social Reform.

The community was beset with many social problems in the nineteenth century. In the social system of the Hindu, caste and social inferiority of women stood opposed to the freedom of the individual and the equality of the sexes that prevailed in England, and that was propagated through the Europeans in India. Reform is as much the result of change of heart as the product of the amelioration of the external conditions of society, social and economic. Indian conservatism in the past as it is today, luckily is not an indisposition to effort and change; it is an easy adaptation to new conditions without infidelity to fundamentals, for, when a new disturbing influence obtrudes from without and persistently, it is far easier to the Hindu to give way than to resist. This phenomenon has been noticed in the slow and inevitable disintegration of the caste, characterised all through the ages by undemocratic and authoritarian features, by social inequality, endogamy, hierarchic gradations, rigidity based on birth rather than on merit, and isolationism.

Though the caste concept involved an admission of the Supremacy of the Brahmin, without necessarily

involving a religious faith in such a supremacy,[1] the ascendancy of the Brahmin was being maintained through the centuries, primarily because of the degradation and economic backwardness of the lower orders in society. The caste stood for the static social forces, while the Western system stood for the dynamical and the individualistic. There was the denial of the brotherhood of man, and there was the artificial barricading of caste from caste, involving the sacrifice of the individual to his class; because society was rigidly organised for certain social necessities into a number of mutually exclusive sects or circles, admission to all of which was by birth only. The caste gave an imperfect idea of the community. Ram Mohan Roy stated in 1824, 'The caste divisions are as destructive of national union as of social enjoyment.' This was reiterated by Monier Williams in the words 'the caste prevents all national and patriotic combinations'.[2]

The animation of Hinduism by the spirit of modernity was to be discovered only in the movement in the direction of freedom of individual action brought about by a loosening of caste and the supercession of the idea of caste by the larger ideas of nationality and citizenship. The spirit of exclusiveness has been persisting through the ages making for the formation of new social rings, but the general ideas of caste did undergo a change in the nineteenth century. Primarily, the economic foundations of the caste system were destroyed with the conquest of India by England and

1 Guru Prasad Sen: Study of Hinduism, p 190.

2 Monier Williams: Modern India, p 31.

the consequent impact of European ideas of private property, industrialisation and the factory system. Rural autonomy ceased to exist, while new vocations, and professions suited to an urban economy, were created and rapid urbanisation and city dwelling followed with all the incidents of a city culture and civilisation. With the growth of the cities and the spread of the means of communication and transport, the exclusive and persistent habits of caste were undermined. The creation of the right to personal and private property as well as the city lover's demand for partition of ancestral landed or house property which was hitherto jointly owned and regarded as inviolable, the migratory habits of careerists, seekers of adventure, and of the economically and socially frustrated individuals, the constant movement of farmers to towns due to the new land revenue system which ruined the handicrafts and discouraged industry, the new economic and political opportunities compelling individuals to abandon their caste-dictated functions as blacksmith, tailors, priest, or tiller and move to towns—all these were the most powerful solvents of caste ideas and habits. The racial and the vocational foundations of the caste system were disorganised thereby contributing to the formation of new economic groupings particularly in the cities, differentiated into workers, employers, clerks, technicians, teachers and doctors irrespective of castes to which they belonged.

The convenience of travelling by rail, of cosmopolitan hotels and restaurants and theatres, the necessity of closer associations at social functions and eco-

nomic, political, and social Conferences, and the Western custom of public meetings for the discussion of public questions giving the lie to the idea that there is pollution in bodily contact with persons of lower castes, were also widely effective in dissolving caste restrictions. The convenience of the new way of life and the unprofitableness of the old way, both helped in the overcoming of the force of caste customs. Rudyard Kipling stated in his Beast and Man in India, 'Money prevails against caste more potently than missionary preaching.' [1]

Evidences of the tyranny of caste, in spite of the rapid change in the general attitude of the educated middle class as regards social questions, as interdining, intermarriage, crossing the seas, eating forbidden food, and widow marriage, are available in an overwhelming manner even today. Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao refused to go to London in 1872 to give evidence on finance before the House of Commons; [2] Several Brahmin intellectuals rejected the invitation to attend the Coronation Durbar in 1875 on religious grounds.[3] Marriage within one's caste was and even today has been, one of the most persistent of all caste ideas, and the Census Report of 1901 stated, 'the regulation regarding food and drink are comparatively fluid and transitory, while those relating to marriage are remarkably stable and absolute'.[4] 'Of hereditary caste' Sister Nivedita says, 'the essential characteristic is the refusal of inter-

1 John Morrison: New Ideas in India, 1907, p 18.
2 Benares Hindu College Magazine, Sept. 1904.
3 Karkaria: Forty Years of Progress and Reform, p 117.
4 Census of India Report, 1901, p 495.544.

marriage; even Christians refuse to marry below their caste, and value a matrimonial alliance with a higher caste.[1] Caste ideas persisted even among Muslim converts. Likewise, the Government too, instead of ignoring caste ideas, often prepared tables of precedences in their Reports regarding the social position and vocations of the lower orders, and tolerated discrimination in hostels, and colleges,[2] though there was occasional public resentment for governmental recognition of such irrational social grading.

Though the caste taboos and restrictions prevail and are deeply ingrained in Hindu society, it must be noted that the repudiation of caste as the most prominent characteristic of Hinduism was voiced out all through the decades of the nineteenth century by several new religious and social organisations, the most prominent among them being, the Protestant Christian Community, Brahmo Samaj, Theosophical Society and the Arya Samaj.

All these different Movements were reformative in character, but could not achieve much by way of establishing a casteless Hindu society. Only new sects and social groups were formed as exclusive as the original castes, as a result of their endeavours. The greatest achievement of this new Hinduism was the promotion of freedom of thought in social matters though seldom freedom of thought was translated into social acts; but castes as a result of this new enlighten-

[1] Nivedita: The Web of Indian life, p 145-148.
[2] Census of India Report, 1901, p 163.

ment, ceased to take cognisance of sins against conventional and caste morality. The Hindu intellect was prepared to admit reform, but the heart declined to allow a common platform to all classes of society.

The Protestant Missions in India, like the other Hindu Reformist missions, compiled dictionaries of the Indian languages, translated the Scriptures into various tongues, produced newspapers, magazines and periodicals, and established printing presses, and printed grammar and social and religious books. The people were taught to read, and literature was scattered about where it could be read. The Missions founded Seminaries, boarding and training schools as well as Colleges, and taught the people English against the wishes of those who associated a superior English education with infidelity. They founded asylums and dispensaries and did a whole lot of other good things.

The history of the missionary work in India in the nineteenth century was an apotheosis of errors. Christians in India imagined that unity of belief could override all distinctive peculiarities of national character and habits of the Hindus who were the heirs of a long and elaborate civilisation, refusing entrance in their minds to any ideas which did not approach them through their traditional modes of thought, and which were not adapted to their ordinary tone of feeling. The latter half of the century was a period of religious ferment, and the native religious movements did not need any external impulse But, the Christian missionary work showed little sign of inherent vitality making impressions only upon the edge of native

thought and society and failing in setting any general wave of thought and feeling in motion. In the words of Dr. Newman 'A people's religion will always be a corrupt religion, because mankind being what they are, are sure somehow or other to twist their professed principles into conformity with their debased practices, though every article of their creed may in the abstract be perfectly true.' Keshab Chander Sen in describing the qualifications of Reformers[1] in Bombay stated, 'A firm sense of duty ought to be the basis of all reform movements; secondly, those who desire to reform their country and society must first reform themselves. Good examples are always powerful engines of conversion, while the fervid eloquence of hypocritical teaching obstructs instead; lastly, the paths of reformation are thorny, and therefore, they who tread these paths must be prepared for the thorns' Therefore, the best way of dealing with false religions and caste, Monier Williams remarked at a Conference of Foreign Missions, was to readjust, not Christian faith which cannot change, but themselves to their surroundings and take pains in the first place to master the dogmas of those whom they aspire to convert.[2]

The Samaj movements and missions in India denounced caste as an insuperable obstacle to the growth of national unity and solidarity, attacked social inequality and separatism and pleaded for the unity and brotherhood of mankind. The policy of Govern-

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[1] Keshab Chander Sen: Address. 'Appeal to Young India', Bombay, 1878.

[2] Monier Williams: Saturday Review, June 26, 1875.

ment was to mitigate social and legal inequalities by the introduction of a uniform system of law. Social legislation during the second half of the century, was largely limited to the statutory confirmation of principles that common usage and public opinion as regards caste had already established; and legislation contributed in a large measure, for the establishment of equality before the law, irrespective of sex and caste, and for the enforcement of conformity and submission to authority that laid down the social law. Several important enactments were made. The Caste Disabilities Removal Act of 1850, The Religious Endowment Act of 1863,[1] The Parsi Marriages and Divorce Act of 1865,[2] The Native Converts Marriage Dissolution Act of 1866,[3] The Indian Divorce Act of 1869,[4] the Special Marriage Act, and the Indian Christian Marriage Act of 1872,[5] the Religious Societies Act of

1 The Indian Legislative Council Proceedings, 1863.
Vol I. p 28, 63, 72, 173, 178.

2 Ibid, Council Proceedings, 1865.
Vol III, p 251; Vol IV p 36-51, 140-44.

3 „ Proceedings 1866.
Vol III. p 157.
Vol IV. p 29, 237-38.
Vol V. p 27, 158-188.

4 „ Proceedings 1869, Vol I, p 221.
Vol II. p 10, 13, Vol VII. 317, 369, 509.
Vol VIII. p 45, p 65-80.

5 „ Proceedings 1872.
Vol VIII, p 381-495; X, 415, 456, 574;
XI, p 68-9, 91-92, 143, 148-205, 555, 560-572.

1880,[1] The Indian Christian Marriage Act and the Marriage Validations Act of 1891,[2] The Marriage Validation Act of 1892,[3] The Indian Foreign Marriage Act of 1903,[4] and the Special Marriage Amendment Act of 1923[5] were a few outstanding examples of Positive Social Legislation.

Women and Social Reform

There was very little legislation for the reform and emancipation of the untouchables whose persecution or neglect was deeply entrenched in the heart of Hinduism in the nineteenth century. Though religious reformers had pleaded passionately for the unity and solidarity of Hinduism, and for the sacred and imprescriptible rights of human personality, the heart of the common Hindu could not be persuaded to an acceptance of this principle for purposes of social action. Ths position of woman before the advent of the British into India and under Muslim domination, with tragic survivals of infanticide, Purdah, Seclusion, Child marriages and Suttee, was as untenable as that of the untouchables.

The revulsion of feeling to woman set in long ago, and the cause of this revulsion was really as Ranade says

1 The Indian Legislative Council Proceedings. 1880,
2 Ibid. Ibid 1891, Vol XXX 207.208.
Vol XXXI 13.16.
3 ,, ,, 1892 Vol XXX 207-208.
XXXI 5.31, 36.
4 ,, ,, 1903 Vol LII p 13, 17, 101.
5 ,, ,, Proceedings 1923.

'the reflex action of the rise of Buddhism with its horror of female society, joined with the confusion caused by invasions of barbarous hordes from outside ar well as the invasion of Muslims who had a distinctly lower ideal of family life and respect for female sex '.[1] It equally affected the law of Inheritance, by discouraging partition and encouraging submission to authority. The notions of individual property in land and the intermixture of castes were discouraged and foreign intercourse by sea and land was similarly eschewed and discredited. The position of women in the nineteenth century still remained based on Status from which there could not be any move towards a condition of Contract. The family was still a joint-family, and marriage, a sacred institution and a sacrament. In the words of Monier Williams "Marriage is the most ancient, sacred and inviolable of all Hindu institutions. It involves intricate questions of caste, creed, property, family usage, consanguinity and age. To remodel the institution of marriage is to reorganise the whole constitution of Indian society, and to create an entirely new social atmosphere '.[2] The Hindu family, likewise was based on Patriarchal ideas, and knit together by a sacred duty of father to son and of wife to husband.

The institutions of Hindu marriage, and of the Joint family knit together in a sacerdotal bond of union,

[1] Ranade : Address, The Age of Hindu Marriage, p 7.
[2] Monier Williams : Indian Theistic Reformers,
J.R.A.S. 1881, p 25.

Census Report 1813.

and of seclusion had strong advocates[1] to vindicate their social importance, for these, had made women stand out vividly in wild luxuriance of free and unfettered action and appear as things of real worth and beauty, exquisite as a bed of scented lilies in an Indian forest glade.

That which destroyed female liberty and the dignity of womanhood were the pernicious practices of infant marriage, polygamy, widowhood, the institutions of inheritance and of Devadasi and other forms of woman slavery. It is not out of place to describe here, how the economic backwardness of India or its relatively static condition only aggravated the social inferiority of women and of the lower orders. The period preceding the British Conquest witnessed appalling uncertainty of life and of property. The security of life provided by British rule led to a rapid increase of population. In certain respects there appeared to be an increase in the standard of general economic wellbeing. The value of landed property increased, though failure of rains, weather and climatic conditions were one of the causes of great uncertainty of living.[2] Famines became appalling as the bulk of the population depended upon the soil for their living.[3] Famines were always a great stimulus to public works though one of the most diffcult problems to the British was as to how

[1] Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy : The Vindication of Hindu Woman.
Dr. Farquahar : The Crown of Hinduism p 102

[2] John Strachey : India's Administration and Progress, Edited by Holderness. p 3 4.

[3] Montague Chelmsford Report, p 111.

to maintain a modern system out of an Asiatic revenue. The slackness, want of self reliance and power of initiative of the Hindu were due to the extremely primitive character of the functional distribution of the country, as shown by the fact that 90% of the people were engaged in twenty-six simple avocations commonly followed in every village.[1]

The perpetuation of this backwardness was due to the Laissez Faire policy of the government and largely to the religion and to the caste system of the Hindus, which precluded the conception of the State as a whole and the sense of duty to the whole community. As religion limited economic activities through the Caste, girls had to be married early, and the consequence was feeble children and increase of population always pressing on the means of subsistence and preventing a marked rise in the standard of living. Marriage expenses and other unproductive expenditure were saddled to the family budget of the villagers and the working classes.[2] Purdah made women more consumers than producers. The sense of dignity and leisure, expensive display, hospitality, entertainment, innumerable relations, indiscriminate charity made the outlook of the Hindu uneconomic. The system of the joint family and the fatalism and belief in the unalterable will of an outside Power, the need to support an ever growing population

[1] 'Of every 100 inhabitants 72 are supported by agriculture, 11 by industry, 2 by transport, and 6 by trade and only 9 in all other forms of occupation.'

Indian Census, 1917.

[2] Moral and Material Progress, 1923, p 200.

pressing on the margin of resources, and unchanging customary standards of life, brought degradation and poverty, and only perpetuated endless divisions of the country, and heterogeneity and different nationalities. The Caste had made for this static economic condition.[1]

'The study of the morbid symptoms of a nation's decay is no doubt very irksome,' declared Ranade. 'but the pain must be endured.'... The process of recovery may be slow, 'but if we stimulate the stifled seeds of health and growth and lop off dead excrescences, decay may yet be arrested, and death successfully averted'.[2] The social inferiority of woman apparent in illiteracy of females, in marriage before womanhood, in polygamy, in seclusion, in prohibition of widow marriage was not the condition imposed by the Caste Organisation, but was the product of the static economic condition brought about by Caste and other factors. That woman's rights would not be reorganised until man's had been, that the Brotherhood of man should be established before men would recognise woman's rights and that caste-feeling should deteriorate before the position of woman could improve, all appeared to be the inevitable law of social progress and evolution.

The basis of all Reform was Education of women, and the different Associations, Samajas and National

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[1] Sir Bampfylde Fuller—Studies in Indian Life and Sentiment. p 41.

Theodore Morrison: The Industrial Organisation of an Indian Province, p 9.

[2] Ranade: Essay, Age of Hindu Marriage.

M. B. Kolaskar: Religious and Social Reform, Intro. XV.

Social Conferences of the last decades of the Nineteenth Century dedicated themselves to the improvement of the lot of woman. Of the works undertaken and Resolutions passed in the Conferences, subjects like the settlement of Hindu and Muslim differences, intercommunication between castes and sub-castes, the raising of marriageable age of girls, discouraging the disfigurement of child widows, the education and amelioration of Pariahs, readmission of converts into Hindu Society, restitution of conjugal rights of woman, widow marriage, abolition of child marriage, and the promotion of female education appeared the most prominent.[1] Dr. Bhandarkar, Ranade, Malaviya, Surendranath Banerji, Satyendranath Tagore, Nilkanth, Bholanath, Sunderland, Caines were a few who set to themselves to cure the malady of the social inferiority of women. Mrs. Ghoshal, Mrs. Ranade, Mrs. Pathak, Mrs. Bhide, Mrs. Kelkar, Dr. Miss. Turkhad and others represented the women of India in the Social Conferences.

The progress of female education was slower than of boys. The Baptist Female Society and other Scottish and American Missionary Societies started schools in the early decades of the nineteenth century, in Bombay, Madras and Calcutta[2] with a view to train Christian converts, and the schools consisted mostly of Christian girls. Private philanthropy to establish schools was

[1] Report of the Ninth National Social Conference, 1896.
Reports of National Social Conferences held at Satara, Poona Ahmedabad, etc.

[2] Adam's Report, Calcutta, p 34-35.

not encouraging, though in Bombay, Phule and Karamchand founded schools for girls in 1851.[1] The Despatch of 1854 found 65 girls' schools in Bombay with about 3,500 pupils. The Statistics for 1871 showed 218 girl schools with 9190 pupils for Bombay Presidency. In 1882 there were 342 girl schools with 26,766 pupils, while in 1892 the strength of the schools rose to 793 with 73,017 pupils; approximately there were 10 girl students for every 1000 population in Bombay. There were 557 girl schools with 35,042 pupils in 1882, in Madras;[2] this increased in 1892 to 1060 institutions with 98,471 female scholars, and the proportion of literate females in 1821 was 12 per thousand. In the organisation of a system of female instruction, primary schools, normal schools, Christian Zenana Missions, Madras ranked the highest in the Census Returns of 1881, among the Provinces of India. In Calcutta in 1882 there were 1015 schools with 41,349 pupils, and the figures rose in 1894 to 2999 schools with 61,034 pupils, including 33,686 girls in boys' schools. According to Census of 1891, the proportion of literary females in Bengal was 4 in 1000 population.

Statistics show that more than seventy per cent of primary girls' schools was under private management and only about twenty per cent under public management. In the Secondary stage, records of the progress of pupils of different religions for the years 1886-7 and 1901-2 show that Christian and Parsi Communities

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[1] Report of the Education Commission, 1882, p 524.
[2] " " " " p 522-523.

preponderated, while the Hindus showed a retarded progress and Muslims an actual decline.[1] College Education was not popular. There were 12 female Colleges, 3 in Madras, 3 in Bengal and 6 in United Provinces, and the students rose from 45 in 1891-2 to 177 in 1901-2; and of these 102 were Eurasians and Europeans, 32 native Christians, 3 Brahmins, 23 other Caste Hindus and 16 Parsis, and these were distributed in male and female Colleges. None of the students happened to be Mahomedans, and the backwardness of Mahomedan Education was due in great measure to the religion, tradition and character of the people who in general were apathetic to the education of their daughters.[2] The slowness in female education[3] was probably due to the fact that the massing together of the heterogenous elements of the population on a footing of social equality was impossible, for class distinctions were sharper and more stubborn than in

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1 Progress of Education in India, p 369 75.

Education Commission 1881-82.

Census of India 1891, p 217. The General Report gives a Table showing the condition of *Female* as compared with *Male* literacy and the Progress made during 1881-1891.

2 Census of India: General Report, 1891, p 225.

3 Progress of Education in India Between 1855 and 1892.

	1856		1892	
	Institutions	Pupils	Institutions	Pupils
Madras	13766	204,856	23204	693,985
Bonbay	2075	106,040	12272	634,438
Bengal	25378	527,731	67824	1531,965
Punjab	5621	44,291	9408	260,227

Moral and Material Progress and Condition of India, 1892 p 388.

the West. Class distinctions were ingrained in the tradition of the people who were governed by prescriptions of religion and race, with the result that the levelling down of distinctions without detriment to the sanctions of class respect which is so marked a characteristic of English education, could not be expected readymade in a country like India.

As there was no enthusiasm general or even widespread, for female education[1] in the Seventies of the Century, it was realised that the part that could be played by system or by initiative or aid was insignificant, and the results were no more than an excrescence or parasitic growth on the life of the community. If the expansion of education was to be genuine, it had to depend on the growth of native public opinion. The movement to be successful had to be spontaneous and voluntary, emanating from the people themselves, and growing out of a proper appreciation of the benefits of female education.[2] Furthermore, education was essentially a question of social reform ; 'by this means,' The Despatch of 1859 declared, 'a far greater proportional impulse is imparted to the educational and moral tone of the people than by the education of men'.[3] 'The education of a single girl means the uplifting of the whole family in a large sense than the

[1] Mary Frances Billington : Woman in India, p 34.

[2] Satyendranath Tagore : Banda Education Commission, 4th October 1892.

H. B. Cornish : Address, Madras University Convocation, 1884.

[3] The Dispatch of 7th April 1859, Paras 25.31

education of a single man ',[1] because of the value to the community of the instincts and powers immanent in a Hindu girl. The instinct of motherhood which is transfigured into faith, whereby self-will is conquered by devotion, and personality is uplifted by submission; the sense of religion which gives the will to submission courageously self-enforced, and brings with it a spiritual power of service and of insight; the power to idealise, whereby the woman can invest a simple and humble object with a mystic significance and see in the symbol the unseen,—these are her distinctive qualities.[2] ' In the Nation are those two intellects ' declared A. O. Hume, ' the male and the female, whose equipoised interaction is indispensable to the evolution of a wise national conduct.'[3] The educated minority had realised that the disparity between the world of thought introduced by Western education and the traditions, thoughts and modes of life of the Home resulting in a dualism of life, would have the most unhappy effect on the community, and therefore to eliminate this dualism and to influence the whole texture of national life and the whole movement of national thought, the education of woman in the country was inevitable.[4]

[1] C. Sorabji : *Between the Twilights*, being Studies of Indian Women by one of Themselves, p 66-72.

Sir W. Hunter : Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol VI p 78.

[2] Calcatta University Commission Report, Vol I, Ch V. p 134.

[3] The Status of Women in India, Ed. Dayaram Gidumal, 1891, p 235.

[4] Justice Muthuswami Iyer : Speech at the Anniversary Meeting of the Girls' Schools at Madras, 1883.

Though there was the quickening of ideas in the Cities due to the spread of education, there were few schools in the country which continued to remain primitive. Out of every 1000 girls of the age of ten or lower, 58 were already married as against 22 boys. Even in the lower strata of Hindu society, there was a rapid expansion of child marriage and prohibition of the marriage of widows, and this distressing phenomenon was due to the bad example of the higher castes who believed in and practised child marriages.[1] Polygamy was still an Indian institution, in the sense that it was at the option of any man to have more than one; and in the matter of marriage, the rights of man alone were regarded. Still, out of every 1000 married men not more than 11 were polygamists. Public opinion, except among Mahomedans, seemed to require a justification for a second marriage, as barrenness, insanity, infirmity or misconduct. Though the Muslims felt that condemnatory reference to polygamy was an attack on religion, the feeling among the educated Muslims against polygamy was becoming a strong social if not a moral conviction.[2]

The prohibition of the marriage of widows was bound up with caste ideas of marriage and with social standing, and as the most deeply-rooted part of the social inferiority of women. Middle class liberalism had recognised this injustice and had indignantly

[1] Census of India Report of 1901, p 442-43.

[2] Census of India Report 1901, p 445.
Justice Amir Ali : Life and Teachings of Mahomed, p 22

protested against this practice. Trotter[1] speaks of a Babu Motilal offering Rs. 10,000 to any Hindu who would marry a widow of his caste. The Census Report of 1901 took a gloomy view regarding the Province of Bengal, the most forward in some respects and the most backward in respect of child marriage and prohibition of the marriage of widows.[2] The Christian Missions,[3] Brahma Samaj, Arya Samaj and several women organisations in Bombay sedulously endeavoured to lift 'the woman's fallen divinity upon an equal pedestal with man, for the woman's cause was man's'. Literature and Drama were devoted to the dissemination of useful knowledge about women; and to the inculcation of the doctrines of humanity and forgiveness, of the impropriety of the undesirable practices, and of the righteousness of devotion, patriotism and valour, in the cause of widow marriage and abolition of child marriages. The Characters of the Indian Plays referred to this problem in indignant terms.[4]

[1] Trotter: India under Queen Victoria. p 27.

[2] Census of India 1901. There were 25,891,936 widows 2 out of every 11 of the female population, p 428.

[3] Rev T. S Grimstarve: An Earnest Appeal to British Humanity in behalf of Hindu Widows, 1825. p 28.

[4] India Office Tracts, Vol 595.

Tarachand Mookerjea: The *Scorpions* or Eastern Thoughts A Comic Heroic Play, 1868.

'Pranks of Cupid in a Hindu Family', 1869.

The distress of a Widow.

Kaleepada Bhattacharya: *Prabhavatee Nataka*, 'Woes of Early Marriage' 1870.

As a result of the agitation led by Pandit Isvara Chandra Vidyaasagar, the Legislative Council passed the Act XIV of 1856, legalising the marriage of widows. Though widow marriage received the sanction of legislative authority, there was strong public feeling against it, and therefore Associations in all parts of India dedicated themselves to enlist the sympathy of the orthodox party and to arouse the public conscience. The Movement was led and supported by Vishnu Sastri Pandit, Ranade, Madhavadas Raghunathadas, Vamana Rao Mahadeva Kolatkar, and Telang of Bombay and Central Provinces, Pandit Vireshalingam Pantulu, Tandalam Gopala Rao, Gazulu Lakshminarasu Chetty of the Madras Presidency, Dewan Shanto Ram of the Punjab, Isvara Chandra Vidyasagar, Babu Sasipada Banerjee and others of Bengal. These Reformers persuaded the orthodox community and the higher castes to a renovation of the old custom of widow marriage, and thus secured a healthy change in public feeling in regard to these fundamental problems.[1]

'*Kaminee*' : The Virgin Widow, 1874 An English Drama.
A Pleader's Guide : A case in point about Horoscopes, 1875.

Bhutano : A Satire, 1876.

Plays and Novels of other Provinces also had the woes of the widow as their subject of study.

[1] Valuable information may be derived on this aspect of the problem in Sir Charan Chakravarti : *Life of Isvarachandra Vidyasagar*, R C Dutt : *Literature of Bengal*, Sir Monier Williams : *Religious Thought and Life in India*, Sir Richard Temple : *Men and Events of my time in India*, Parekhi ; *Eminent Indians on Indian Politics*, Ram Gopal Sanyal : *Bengal*

Furthermore, it seems to have been necessary for the Legislature to intervene to secure progress for women and give a foothold to the new ideas, nuances of opinion and tendencies of the Age. Dharma Sastras in matters of social relationships had played their part; Commentaries and Digests based upon the Sastras were becoming important, and these with the establishment of courts and legal procedure, had come to yield place to the decisions of duly constituted courts. The interpretations of the commentators and court decisions had come to serve as an agency for the development of the law, especially in the field of *Stridhana* and Inheritance. But, the fact cannot be overlooked as Gooroodas Banerjee stated that the spontaneous growth of the law originally administered by private Tribunals, was suddenly arrested with the establishment of British administration in India, and by a degree of rigidity being given to it,[1] by a foreign regime, which was naturally hesitant where an indigenous ruler could have modified the law with boldness and public acceptance.[2]

Social necessities and social opinions were bound to be always in advance of the law, and the principal agency through which law was to be brought in harmony with society was judicial interpretation, but this was

Celebrities, Mandalik: *Writings and Speeches*, Sarabji Jehangir: *Lives of some Bombay Worthies*; *Some noted Indians of modern Times*, Collected from various Sources.

1 Banerjea: Hindu Law of Marriage and Stridhana, p 7.8.

2 Paul Appaswamy: Legal Aspects of Social Reform, p XIX.

as characterised by Maine[1] haphazard, inordinately dilatory, and inordinately expensive, besides being largely the decisions of foreigners who were under the thraldom of precedents and analogies of a foreign law. Consequently, though much progress could not be made, still, as a result of the action of the courts, there was the development of the distinction between legal and moral injunctions and the separation of the religious element in the law from the civil.

Legislation was the most effective of the ameliorating agencies. The expediency of legislation as an instrument of social reform, and the importance of the enactments of uniform, simple, codified laws, were recognised by the enlightened and the liberal middle classes; but they felt that changes contemplated should not be deep and far-reaching or revolutionary in character, in the sense of seeking to uproot the foundations of the existing system or to engraft principles on it that are alien to its spirit.[2] The position of women in any system of law formed a fair index of the country's culture and civilisation and there was a vital relation between civilisation and the proprietory capacities of women,[3] and in the words of J. S. Mill, 'through all the progressive periods of human history, the condition of women had been approaching nearer to equality with men'.[4] The middle classes had come

[1] Maine: Minutes, 17th July 1879.

[2] R. K. Acharya: Codification in British India, p 361.
Women's Rights under the Hindu Law, Mysore,
Introduction p 21

[3] Maine: Early Institutions, p 339.

[4] J. S. Mill: Subjection of Women, p 48.

under the influence of Mill and Maine and had appreciated the propriety of the Legislative Council, interfering in social life to modify the law when such interference was considered necessary and just. The emancipation of women by the Acts of the Legislature, was an important event during the Second half of the Century. The Act XXI of 1850, enacting freedom by religion, Act XV of 1856, (Hindu Widows' Remarriage) The Parsis Marriage Divorce Act of 1865, Act XXI of 1866 (Native Converts' Marriage Dissolution), Act VII of 1866 (Bombay Hindu Liability for Ancestor's Debts, The Indian Divorce Act of 1869, The Special Marriage Act, and the Indian Christian Marriages Act of 1872, Married Woman's Property's Act of 1824,[1] Act IV of 1875 (Majority), Act IV of 1882 (Transfer of property), the Indian Christian Marriage Act and the Marriage Validation Act of 1891 and of 1892, the Indian foreign marriage Act of 1903, Act III (B. C.) of 1904 (Settled Estates Act), Act I (Madras) of 1914 (Hindu Transfers and Bequests Act, Act XV of 1916 Hindu Disposition of Property), Act XXX of 1923 (Special Marriage Amendment Act), Act XXXIX of 1925 (Indian Succession Act), Act II of 1929 (The Law of Inheritance Amendment Act), Act XIX of 1929 (Child Marriage Restraint Act), The Hindu Gains of Learning Act of 1930, etc.,—all these give an idea of the scope and nature of interferences by Statute enacted by the Government with a view to bring about equalisation of advantages to Hindu men and women.

Legislative Council Proceedings, XII, p 266-319.

One cannot fail to notice that, in spite of the spread of education by voluntary effort and legislative enactments to ameliorate the condition of Hindu woman, and render her fit to profit by new opportunities, less than 7 out of 1000 women, were literate while 1 out of every 10 male population got education. The need of education ought to have grown with the growth of population but the initial force of expansion was somewhat on the decline,[1] because of the backwardness of the country, multiplicity of languages, long distances, and lack of means of communication, famines and pestilence, child marriages and the hardships of widowhood. Accordingly, there was no large demand for reform from the mass of women affected, and they did not complain about disabilities and hardships. An effort for the improvement of the lot of women had thus to be made by men, by agitation in the Press and on the platform, and by Social Conferences.

Educational Reform.

One other great solvent of inherited and persistent habits of living and of caste, besides legislative enactments was English Education, with its ideas of Individual Freedom, National feeling and Democracy. The history of the development of the Educational System in India shows that there was neither the inclination, nor the opportunity in the beginning of the Century, to consider the establishment of any

[1] Census of India Report of 1901.

System worth the name by the Indian Government. Their energies were devoted chiefly to the consolidation of Power.[1] Intellectual and moral conceptions did not come from Statesmen and Administrators but from Religious Reformers.

In the effort to spread Western education, one cannot fail to notice the influence of a Semi-Rationalistic School concerned mainly to foster secular learning, and the influence of Missionaries and the Evangelists imbued with a deep humanism and using English as a vehicle for religious teaching.[2] Missionaries and Hindu Reformers between them succeeded in arousing a remarkable ferment of new ideas in the third decade of the 19th Century, and these two, more or less hostile strains were perceptible in the new Movement, and the necessity of co-ordinating these two conflicting forces of Secularism and Ecclesiasticism led to the establishment of a peculiar educational system neither exotic nor indigenous.

A steady encouragement and expansion of Western education did not mean that the Government wished to discourage Oriental Learning and the development of the Vernaculars. David Hare, Duff, an old pupil of Dr. Chalmers, Dr. Wilson, and Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Babu Gopee Mohan Tagore, Mohan Dev, Babu Ganga Narain Das, and others, aimed, by proper culture to awaken, develop, stimulate and direct the various powers and susceptibilities of the Indian mind, and for

1 Rev J. Long, ed, Adam's Reports, 1868.
2 Calcutta Review, III, p 234.

this end to employ the English language as the most effective instrument,[1] and likewise, to imbue the whole knowledge thus imparted with the spirit of true religion. The movement for an English education was purely non-official. But, the British government so far had encouraged only Sanskrit scholarship since the foundation of the Sanskrit College at Benarese in 1791 on the recommendation of Jonathan Duncan.[2]

With the enactment of the India Act of 1833 and the abolition of the requirement of licenses, Education presented the most fruitful field for Missionary labours and for a rapid extension of Missionary schools and Colleges. While the authorities were trying to spread classical education in Bengal, vernacular education in Bombay due to the inspiration of Elphinstone,[3] and a mixture of both in Madras, the Hindus themselves expressed their eagerness for English education.[4]

The policy of Macaulay marked the point at which official recognition was given to the necessity of public support for western education.[5] At the same time a great impulse was given to vernacular education too

[1] John Murdock. Indian Year Book for 1861-62 p. 140.

[2] Rev. J. Long: edited. Adam's Reports. p 308. Calcutta Review. Vol. III. p 215-219.

[3] G. W. Forrest: Official writings of Mount Stuart Elphinstone.

[4] George Smith Life of Alexander Duff. Vol. I p. 100.

[5] Thomson: History of British Education in India p. 29 Macaulay's Minutes on Education in India collected by H. Woodrow. 1862.

by freedom conferred on the Press in 1837; and the Government's policy was to develop the use of English, but no wise at the expense of the vernacular; on the contrary, the development, refinement and enrichment of the vernacular was one of the principal aims of Governmental policy.[1] The Resolution of Bentinck gave a great impetus to English education, and the new Seminaries admitted boys irrespective of caste or creed. The passion for English knowledge was great, and this was fostered by the Proclamation of Lord Hardinge in 1844 which opened up avenues of respectable employment to successful students of English Schools.

The presence of the British in India had brought about profound changes in the social and administrative conditions of the country, and the impulse towards this change came from the need for public servants with a thorough knowledge of the English language and the influence, in favour of the English language, exercised by the Missionaries. But, the standard of examination was high and it required a critical acquaintance with the works of Bacon, Johnson, Milton and Shakespeare, knowledge of ancient and modern history, elements of Natural History and Science, the principles of Moral Philosophy and Political Economy, together with considerable facility of composition and power of writing idiomatic prose. Accordingly, the number of students who passed these examinations

[4] Calcutta University Commission Report Vol. I. Ch. XVIII. para 10.

were only 35 between 1845 and 1849,[1] because of the difficulty of the examination.

In spite of the small number of students there was an yearly augmentation of educational forces based on the introduction of western ideas through the medium of English; and it was apprehended that it was a dangerous experiment fraught with dangerous possibilities, for education like moral laws would proceed onwards till they terminated in effecting a universal change in the national mind of India. But this great and ultimate Revolution worked out by the Universities would compel 'the sacrifice of religion' as Alexander Duff noted in his Memorandum, on the alter of worldly expediency and then the supreme good of man would be bleeding at its base.[2]

Though Sir Charles Metcalfe, Sir Henry Maine and Morley scented danger to British Sovereignty, still they were altruistic enough to proceed with the progressive secularisation of the ideas and institutions of India.[3] Education was to be confined at first almost

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1 Trevelyan Education of the People of India p. 81-83

Within two years from Jannary 1834 to December 1835 while the students bought only 52 Sanskrit and Arabic books they bought 31,500 copies of English books.

P. N. Bose: History of Hindu Civilisation during British Rule, Vol III.

Calcutta Review, Vol XV p 319.

2 G. Smith: Life of Alexander Duff, Vol I, p 200-203.

3 "If however, the extension of new knowledge is to be a new sense of danger, it is not altogether unavoidable. It is our duty to extend Knowledge whatever may be the result"

Sir Charles Metcalfe: Parliamentary Papers, May 16, 1835.

entirely to the Upper and Middle classes, in the hope that they, as the natural leaders of the people would spread their knowledge among the masses. As the means at the disposal of the Government were absolutely limited, it was deemed absolutely necessary to make a selection, and therefore to give the middle classes the education, which would ultimately reach the rest of the people, through the leaders of the people.

With such a spirit animating educational policy, it was only natural that the needs of the masses were overlooked at first. Probably, the enormous population to be dealt with, the backwardness of the country, the multiplicity of languages, the lack of qualified teachers, the lack of books, of funds, all combined to render it impossible to the government to attempt to educate the general body of the people.[1] Universities came to be established, and in the words of Morley, 'this was a far more momentous event and one almost deeper than the transfer of the Crown', and the Hindus benefited, while the pride and the religious loyalty of the Muslim revolted and the Muslims stood aloof for the moment.

The object of Sir Charles Wood's Despatch of 1854 was to extend European Knowledge, throughout all the classes of the people, by means of the English language, in the higher branches of instruction, and by means of the vernacular languages, in the Lower Schools. The Despatch intended to create a properly articulated system of

[1] Trevelyan: Education of the People of India, p 47-49

education from the primary school to the University,[1] and by an emphasis on primary education to repudiate the extreme form of filtration theory, and thus spread education among the masses and enlist their support for governmental measures. The Despatch confirmed the Directors' approval of the exertions of Christian Societies, of the increasing desire of the Muslims to acquire European knowledge, and it evinced sympathy for female education.

This policy was expected to produce spontaneously organised schools, and to stimulate private benevolence for the spread of education, so that there might be an ultimate abandonment by the Government of directive control over many of its existing institutions. The establishment of Provincial Universities was encouraged, because as a purely examining body, it would cost the government very little; there was to be also the establishment and the development of the policy of Grants-in-aid.

This policy of non-interference in the educational activity of the country was adopted as a direct consequence of the National Awakening in 1857, when the common people saw the old order yielding place to a new which ignored their religion and seemed to threaten the foundations of their lives. Primary and Secondary

[1] Despatch of 1854, Section 9 Oriental languages, Section 13, Medium of Instruction, *Vernaculars*, 17 and 18 Educational Administration, Section 25 *Universities*, Section 41 and 42, *Education of the masses*, 51 and 52 Grants in aid, Section 53 *Female Education*.

education was encouraged by Grants-in-aid which would establish conditions which would make literacy appropriate. But, there were difficulties in the way of adopting free and compulsory education ; [1] apart from the considerations of public Finance, the effect of the utter inadequacy of funds and that of bringing the education of the classes and the education of the masses into opposition as claimants on the public revenues was, that in this competition the claims of higher education were bound to be belittled. As the government was faced by the contrast between Western plans of education and Eastern resources, it had to adopt the policy of returning from the field of direct instruction, and help the operations of independent Institutions by reasonable subventions of money.

Lord Lawrence in 1868 declared ' Among all the sources of difficulty in our administration and of public danger to the stability of our government, there are few so serious as the ignorance of the people ;—All schemes, as the opening of agricultural banks, the strengthening of the legal position of the agriculturist, and bringing the cultivator into contact with the commercial world, depend largely for their success upon the influence of education permeating the masses '. Ripon's Scheme of Local Self Government[2] had a strong influence on the course of Secondary education in the pursuance of the general policy, that the local needs should be supplied

[1] W. W. Hunter : The Indian Empire, 1893, p 562.

[2] Ramachandra Palit : Speeches of Lord Ripon, Resolutions, p 35.64, 1882.

from local funds, and that the government should divest itself of the direct management of its Secondary Schools in favour of municipal and rural boards. In 1870-71 there were 780 Government Schools, 2138 aided 32 unaided Schools out of a total of 2950 schools; in 1891-92, out of a total of 4109 Secondary Schools, there were 301 Government Schools, 2085 aided and 649 unaided Schools and 1075 Board Schools; in 1901-2 there were 5032 public Secondary Schools, of which 3097 were English Schools and 1935 Vernacular Schools.

The percentage of Vernacular schools was 45 in 1886 and the percentage fell to 38 in 1901, illustrating the preference which existed for an English education, partly due to the better prospects of employment which it afforded, and partly due to the desire of the parents that their children should be acquainted with the English language.[1] The total expenditure on Secondary Schools in 1901-2 was 109 lakhs, out of which 98½ lakhs were spent on English Schools and 10½ lakhs for Vernacular Schools.

After the passing of the Municipal Acts and the Elementary Education Acts, primary education made a great stride forward and the number of State and recognised private schools rose from 19,000 to 85,000 in the eleven years from 1870-1 to 1881-2. The rate of progress was not maintained in the next three

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[1] Report of the Education Commission, 1882, p 187.
Sir Alfred Croft: Quinquennial Review, 1881.1885.
A. M. Nash: Second Quinquennial Review, 1887.1892.

decades, and the reasons for want of progress in primary education, were famines, the disordered condition of the villages, paucity of funds, the niggardliness of Public bodies, the raising of standards by the Education Department and governmental apathy.[1] The relationship between Government and private enterprise in education showed how closely it followed the trend of public feeling in England in each of its successive phases.

The policy of Government with regard to the Universities was not different from the one pursued with regard to primary and secondary education. The relationship was one of affiliation, whereby the affiliated institutions were licensed to provide instruction and to present candidates for examination. The adoption of an affiliating rather than a federal basis was suggested by the analogy of London and since 1857 the affiliating type became the dominant factor in the educational development of India.[2] Accordingly, the Indian University was not a Corporation of scholars, but was a Corporation of administrators with a uniform curricula and an exaggerated emphasis upon examinations, and contributing nothing to strengthen the intellectual resources of the Colleges, and little to stimulate free

1 J. S. Cotton : The Third Quinquinnial Review, 1892-1897.

,, The Fourth Quinquinnial Review, 1897-1902.

Census Report 1901, p 172-73.

2 Calcutta University Commission Report, Vol I, Chapter III, Para 47.

criticism and independent thought among teachers and students.

In spite of the purely literary and non-technical character of University training and the thrusting of responsibility upon the Provinces and Municipalities, the Educational movement received great momentum during the sixties and the nineties of the century, as a result of the resurgence of youth and of the influence of the new currents of thought of the Age. In 1902 there were five Universities; and more than 188 Teaching Colleges containing 23,009 undergraduates, were affiliated to them. More than half a million students attended the Secondary schools alone, and these figures indicated the measure of leavening India with modern ideas through English education. Between the years from 1836 to 1900, several thousands of Indians had become literate; and they were the pick of the Middle Classes with an outlook fundamentally different from their teachers, belying the sanguine prophesies of Elphinstone and Macaulay.[1]

The Muslims too were prepared to reap the full benefits of secular education but were not prepared to take these benefits, at the price of any real sacrifice of Islamic tradition which was not so much individual

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[2] 'The conversion of the natives must result from the diffusion of Knowledge among them'.

—Elphinstone.

"It is my firm belief that if our phase of education is followed up, there will not be a single idolater among the respectable classes in Bengal thirty years hence.'

—Macaulay's letter to his father, 1836.

as corporate, and not so much personal as communal in its instincts and unity. Though the ideas of the Muslims sprang from the soil of India, rooted in their hearts were other ideals, the ideals of Islam and the conception ot a Society at once cosmopolitan and exclusive. No scheme of educational reconstruction could be useful unless it recognised the existence of conflicting ideals and interests in the texture of Muslim personality.

During the Nineteenth century there was great disparity between the educational progress of the Hindus and Muslims;[1] and the sense of pride in race, a memory of bygone superiority, religious fears, and not an unnatural attachment to the learning of Islam, want of sympathy between the Hindu teachers and Muslim pupils, want of consideration in the arrangements of the Education Departments, and the depressed condition of the bulk of the Muslims, were the general causes of their backwardness.[2] In 1882 there were only 3·8 percent of educated Muslims, and 1·1 percent educated up to the B.A. classes; while 35 individuals out of 1000 of the Hindu population were literate in Bengal, barely 2 individuals among the Muslims could be discovered.[3] Still, in this new movement, during the last decades of the century, towards higher education, there lay the presage of an intellectual unity which would lessen, if

[1] Ameer Ali: Nineteenth Century, August 1882, p 193-215.

[2] Report of the Indian Education Commission 1883, Ch IX, p 563-566.

[3] W. W. Hunter: The Indian Mussalmans, 1872, p 181-3, Census of India 1911.

it could not obliterate, the breaches caused by ancient divisions and by deep differences in cultural traditions.

The devolution of Educational responsibility on private colleges and institutions, had far-reaching consequences. Standards declined, while there was increase in scholars and students. But teaching attracted a number of first class men, the very salt of the educational earth, to regard it as their natural vocation and sacred duty. The Government could not help, and take effective means to control the forces of education, and could not sufficiently impress the lessons of discipline, of order, of moderation and of restraint. The development of Secondary and Collegiate education under popular influence was allowed to gather momentum, for the politically minded classes of the country had come to regard education as a national need, and resent any innovation which might restrain the pace of advance.

Fifty years of study of English literature, history and political theories had made the educational classes familiar with phrases and forms of politics. The spread of education had created a common vocabulary and a common set of political ideals. In the surge of new political ideals and of revolt from the old religious allegiances, in the outburst of economic ambitions and of commercial adventure, individual self-realisation became an ideal of life, individual enterprise a conspicuous virtue, and individual ownership a vitally necessary and a sacred institution. English education which gave more self-reliance, imparted more vigour to individual initiative, and directed its attention towards the creation of new cadres of government service, naturally

was the recognised path-way to the young Indian to respectability and social advancement.

English Institutions turned out an increasing number of young men who were provided with an intellectual equipment admirable in itself but practically useless to them on account of the small number of openings which the professions afforded them; for, technical schools were not established on a large scale to help the young to seek a career in commerce and industry.

Education was the one channel of escape from the rigid social barriers imposed by the system of caste. It was the herald of a Social and Political Revolution, enlarging indefinitely the mass of aspirants after a purely literary training and increasing the discontented intellectual proletariat. Generations of scholars for fifty years had tasted English literature, the literature of liberty, of the leaven of the thought of Bacon and Milton, Locke and Burke, Wordsworth and Byron whose message of freedom and individual initiative was a repudiation of the Hindu ideals of submission and self renunciation.

The effect of the impact of such ideals on the traditions of India was, that the guiding and restraining influence of religious authority and of caste was weakened, and there arose a tendency to reject the conception of the Divine as incarnate in any one caste. A new spirit of toleration freed from sectarian bias developed, with the weakening of the fundamental conceptions on which caste restrictions were founded. The reaction against English education which necessarily

remained neutral to all forms of religious belief, became manifest in the Religious and Social movements of the last quarter of the Century, revealing the inseparable and the fundamental identity of political ideas and of the intellectual conceptions of the *literati* who preached a vague ideal of a brotherhood of mankind, ultimately to culminate in nationality.



CHAPTER VI.

THE CONGRESS AND THE LIBERAL NATIONALISM OF THE MIDDLE CLASSES

The English educated class formed the public opinion that existed in India in the nineteenth century, with regard to social, and primarily to political affairs. They formed only microscopically small fraction of the whole population, but yet in the long run it was their opinion which was likely to prevail, because there was no other class which held any opinion at all on Public Questions. While the great mass of the agricultural population was only concerned with the chances of the harvest, the old conservatives remained faithful in their allegiance to Oriental ideals and had no constructive view of society and of politics. So, it was upon the political ideals prevalent among the college students that depended the future of the country, and these classes far from forming a separate exclusive caste by themselves were drawn from the masses themselves and were like civilising stations amidst a vast population. It was the educated who stood between their poor uneducated brethern and official bureaucracy and tyranny. The educated were the leaders of the people, for, either by their own intrinsic intellectual capacity or by knowledge derived from study and observation they could appreciate correctly the state of their own people and formulate their exact needs and suggest suitable means of attaining them.

English education had initiated the Hindu into a historical literature which showed how the people had come to be a great political power, how they had risen against despots and wrested important privileges and securities of liberty, and how they had discovered that in the limitation and definition of authority, the palladium of individual freedom could be found. The Hindu was familiar with the village democracy and its institutions, and with his immediate past which looked like a sanguinary record of bloodshed, of conspiracies and of usurpations. The country had not witnessed any time, any popular movement of great importance or the conflict between authority and liberty, between the ruler and the ruled, for the establishment of individual freedom and social justice. The Lessons of British Constitutional History and of the struggles of the people with the king, were familiar knowledge to the collegian; how the authority of the Crown was circumscribed, and his budget was voted for, and channels of expenditure was designated by the representatives of the people; why the Crown's evil advisers were punished and the people or their representatives had a Vital voice in the determination of punishments for evil doers. Life in England was an organic unity aud social, religious and political movements acted and reacted on each other, thus contributing to the all round development of society. The Indian learnt that the British Rulers in India were accountable for their deeds to their representatives in Parliament, and that men of literature and of religion were taking active part in political movements or were concerning themselves about the political rights of their people.

The growth of democracy in the West with its emphasis on liberty and Representative Government was quite a revelation to the Indian. The idea of representation or of a voice in political matters for the people was unknown, for politics was never associated with literature, and the evolution of religious ideas had been accomplished without social co-operation. The Indian spoke of religious equality without the denunciation of social inequality and disabilities which impeded the harmonious development of the individual's personality. Political equality and the Representative form of Government were new ideas which he began to learn by contact with English education.

The idea of citizenship aad the consciousness of being a political unit was itself a new idea which was made possible by a free press which was the outcome of the concept of civil society, fostered by the Christian Philanthropists with the knowledge of the political life of England and of its literature which breathed an atmosphere of freedom and democracy. The Act of 1835 which declared the Press free, made it legal for the Indian not merely to think but to speak on public questions. The Indian did not know that public questions were different from private questions, and that the study of public questions involved a free criticism of governmental authority. The individual was made subservient to the community and authority was exalted to the detriment of the individual. To the Indian, obtrusive self assertiveness was repugnant ; but he could visualise that the sense of individuality would help him to emancipate himself from the restraints of conventiona-

lities, sanctioned by usage, and venture out of the well beaten old and familiar paths of metaphysics and theology, to see new dimensions of the human spirit. The examination of public questions implied a comprehensive outlook and a homogeneity of social opinion. Coupled with this was the freedom to criticise, conferred as a right by the Press Acts on the individual to vindicate his liberty even against the gratuitous incursions of a powerful Executive.

Other political ideas followed the lines of social change. The consciousness of being an Indian superseded sectarian or provincial consciousness; and the consciousness of national unity and social solidarity was one of the outstanding features of the Age, for in the words of Max Muller 'The Indian never knew the feeling of nationality' and the name of India was a synonym for caste as opposed to Nationality.[1]

Before the assumption of sovereignty by the Crown in 1857, one notices a desperate earnestness on the part of the leaders of the community to co-operate with the British Government in the common work of administration. A certain section of the educated class maintained even at the close of the century that the British administration in India was a Providential arrangement set up to emancipate India, and to reform and regenerate that great country. "It is the aim and end of our truly Paternal government to emancipate our countrymen from the thraldom of superstition and ido-

[1] P. N. Bose, Hindu Civilisation under British Rule Vol. I, XVI.
Sister Nivedita; The Web of Indian Life p. 101.

latry ... English education is the precursor of civilisation."[1] In the beginning, the recipients of English education showed a marked and undiscriminating preference for Western habits and methods of progress. The effort of the Hindu was directed more towards assimilation than towards imitation of Western thought. Most of the higher classes read English books because a knowledge of English was the *Sine qua Non* of worldly advancement, and a key to the intellectual treasures of contemporary civilisation. English education awakened the mind of India to rejoice in the consciousness of the larger existence enlivened by an identity of ancient glories with a politically new India created by Britain. The 'term Indian' was employed to describe the new Society, and this was a foreign importation giving the necessary comprehensiveness of meaning undiscoverable in native terminology. The English language was the prime factor in evoking the new national consciousness, and the Indian had to speak to his fellow Indians, in this language of liberty, and even criticise the British rulers by using the English language. The political Constitution of England with its Houses of Parliament, with their proceedure and meetings, and along with it the new political set-up in India with its Viceroys and Durbars were inculcated

[1] The National Magazine, Calcutta July 1877.

'It is an eggregious error to think that English education tends to estrange the minds of the educated natives from the masses of their countrymen. But, on the contrary, instead of extinguishing the flame of Patriotism in the breast of the educated, it rather adds fuel to that flame.' National Magazine, July 1877. p. 107.

among the humblest in India through street showmen and peepshow. The English leaven was thus leavening the whole enormous and overwhelming mass of Indian life.

There was a general impression during the first half of the century that the country was passing through a state of disintegration and its habits and forms of life were subjected to influences which were affecting it seriously and fundamentally. The Codes were producing a considerable effect on the legal morality of India ; the infection of incorruptibility was beginning to extend from the English to the nature magistrates ; the Zamindar was beginning to have a glimpse of the truth that property had its duties as well as rights. The whole of the Indian mode of regarding the World was being put in the way of being altered, and a great number of educated Indians were getting to think about many philosophical subjects very much as persons in Europe thought about them. The changes that the British had introduced and were introducing, had made the native utterly impatient of the old methods of communication, and the theocratic caste system was accommodating itself to the purely plutocratic arrangements of Railway directors, English Schools and Colleges which were extending the idea of scientific methods.

These and other forces predominantly of a civilising and intellectual kind were everywhere in active operation, and the people of India were being carried almost without a will and as if by a tide of circumstances, from a past to which their hearts clung with

regret to a future which was still unknown and indiscernible. New means of communication, reign of law and justice and equitable administration had introduced new and more active habits of life which began to work in society as dissolvents of old customs and actually had their result in a condition of things analogous perhaps to that produced in Europe by the literature of Greece and law and order of Rome.

The impact of the West was bound to produce reactions in the Indian mind, for the purveyors and administrators of Western ideas and institutions were at a different stand point. The continued decay of Hindu civilisation and still more a greater pride in themselves led the new School of British administrators and Missionaries to aim at the suppression of many of Indian practices and at the introduction of the superior civilisation of the West. The Evangelical Movement worked in the same direction, and barring a few remarkable exceptions, became, a potent agent in the Europeanisation of the country. In civil affairs, a similar spirit began to prevail. The Indian was considered to be immensely behind Europe in Law, Government and education and hampered in growth by many grotesque and retrograde institutions. Nevertheless, the theory of the enlightened administrators was that the Indian could be raised under proper training to the heights already reached by British rulers, and by an abolition of all the traditional and customary basis ef his religion and life, turned into an imitation Britisher. This complacency of the Britisher was most ill-founded, as the Indian was the product of a peculiar evolution

which would not be replaced by a short period of education in hastily organised schools.

Furthermore, as the conquest of India was actuated purely by considerations of selfish interests, the maintenance of British Power in India had to be necessarily founded on the enlightened self-interest of the British rulers. The laissez-faire policy of the East India Company checkmated unfettered industrial development and freedom of initiative Monopoly of key posts, a pernicious land-revenue system and capitalist's approach to problems of labour and the wage system, racial discrimination, and narrow engrossment on the pursuit of exclusively British interests to the detriment of Indian humanity,—all these handicaps on the free development of the Indian were bound to evoke deep resentment and ebullition of feeling manifesting occasionally in sporadic acts of violence against the rulers.

Some of the more enlightened Britishers had realised the gravity of radical departures in policy. Bagehot considered the Western civilisation to have failed in producing 'a rapidly excellent effect in India, because it was too good and too different'.[1] Bentinck stated, 'In many respects, the Muslims surpassed our rule; they settled in the countries which they conquered, and they intermixed and intermarried with the natives; they admitted them to all privileges, and the interests and sympathies of the conquerors and the

[1] Bagehot: Physics and Politics, p 145.

conquered became identical. Our policy, on the contrary, has been the reverse of this, cold, selfish and unfeeling '.

Several other administrators too, had prophesied that the British policy was certain to provoke a reaction both among the Indians and the British. It afforded for annexation of States by Dalhousie, though the scrupulous observance of treaties, abstinence from extension of territory, respect for native creeds, admission of natives to office and the maintenance of native rights of property in land, had formed the bases of British policy in India. Great administrators like Wellington, Elphinstone, Malcolm, Munro and Metcalfe who had shared in past annexations, testified to that the effects of absorption of Native States into the Empire were evil.[1]

The Policy of Annexation was not the sole cause of the Movement of 1857. Other causes concurred with annexation, to produce the Indian outbreak: religious causes, economic causes, social and legal causes. Long before the open revolt against the government, the invidiousness of Annexations, and expediency of Restoration had been stressed by a few experienced administrators. Still, advice went unheeded and the Policy of Annexation aroused deep indignation, similar to the bitterness of feeling that

1 Indian Reform Tracts, IV. The Native States of India, 1853.

Sir William Sleeman : Journey through Oudh, Vol ii. p 399.

would be engendered by evictions of faithful tenants by the landlord; besides, the majority of annexations were grounded on the alleged right of escheat by lapse, and this placed necessarily the British Government in that most justly invidious of all positions, where absolute strength is opposed to absolute weakness--the strong man to the widow or the child.

Although an Indian nationality did not exist, the feeling of geographical unity of India had been observed long since; and the effect of the policy of annexation, and organisation of the system of centralisation was that sharp differences and rivalries between the various races were bound to disappear, and cause a community of feeling and of aims throughout the whole of India which would eventually become extremely dangerous to British supremacy.' [1]

The Land-Revenue Policy of the Government

The policy of Annexation liquidated a large number of feudal states; the land-revenue policy of the British impoverished the peasantry and ruined the artisan; and the policy of importing into India manufactured goods in preference to the produce of local cottage industry, destroyed the local initiative and drove the artisan to the cities to glut the market of the unemployed. The wealth which formerly accumulated in the hands of the upper classes was drained off into the

[1] J. M. Ludlow: Thoughts on the policy of the Crown towards India p 139.

Government treasury, by excessive assessment; districts and villages which once enjoyed a considerable degree of prosperity, were fleeced, ruined and demoralised for the realisation of an impossible amount of taxation. Estates were sequestrated, and all classes connected with the soil were in rapid progress of being reduced to the bare subsistence-standard of the British revenue system; 'the revenue management of the Pindarees', a local daily declared, 'was infinitely more humane, more considerate, more conducive to the security and enjoyment of the species than that of the British Officers'.[1]

England was taxed for the benefit of Englishmen, rented by Englishmen and governed by Englishmen. India was taxed, chieffy in the shape of rent, for the benefit of foreigners and governed by foreigners. While agricultural taxation was a secondary element in English social life, it was the primary element in Indian economy, and good or bad government depended almost altogether upon good or bad Settlements of the land revenue.[2] But, hundreds of estates were alienated from the Talukdars under a so-called inquiry into their titles which were passed over in total silence, and every illegal interference and assumption of jurisdiction was made without a check from higher authorities. The result of this ruthless systematising and contempt for all fact and law was that the respect of the native public opinion in the Government was shaken to an

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[1] Mirror of the Indian Press 1833.

[2] Sleeman: Rambles and Recollections, Vol I, p 125.

inexpressible degree, and all confidence in property or its rights was shattered. The endeavour of the government to subject large estates or *talooks* to the ordinary laws of inheritance so as to subdivide them and break down the great native families which were united by the principles of joint-family system, was catastrophic.[1]

The Parcelling of Taluks, the Resumption Laws, and the Sale Laws could not but bring about the extinction of the Indian landed gentry. It was the practice from time immemorial for the sovereign to grant portions of the public land free of tax. As these '*Lakhiraj*' or '*Inam*' lands granted for the maintenance of charities or religious services changed hands or became obsolete, the lands became valuable in precise proportion to the pressure of the land revenue, and the government felt that it was justified in resuming rent-free tenures, as there was a *prima facie* grievance in the community that a certain portion of the land should be wholly exempt from the burden of land revenue, while rent-free lands had been either made without authority or obtained or simulated by fraud. Resumption of land was repugnant to a community which honoured gifts and regarded permanent levy of a fixed rate on *Inam* Lands as oppressive. The reaction was bound to be severe, for ancient inscriptions often contained imprecations on any of the descendants of the grantor, who resumed his gift.[2] The policy of resumption of land was destructive of

[1] Sleeman: Journey through the Kingdom of Oudh, Vol I, p 29.

[2] Elphinstone: History of India, Book II. Ch. II.

the self-government of the village communities and this brought about the spread of the yoke of officialism throughout the land. Resumption laws appeared like a blight passing over the country, and Inam Commissioners aroused deep dissatisfaction in Bengal, Madras and Bombay; for, Parliamentary pledges of respect to native usages were violated and powers were freely used of breaking into any man's house at night in the search for documents or enter into women's apartments with a view to secure papers for authoritative investigation. The Measure and the confiscations under the Inam Commission and the maladministration of justice, provoked hatred of British rule, and competent opinion declared that resumption laws would produce an insurrection.[1]

The British Revenue system in its Sales Law also was faulty. According to the law, the landed property of a defaulter was liable to sale by public auction; and when thus sold, he lost forever what had perhaps been the inheritance of many generations. The lands were sold up for debts; and the breaking down of the talukdars was certain to end in an excessive dissatisfaction and disloyalty amongst the natives. The old Hindu families and Zamindars were highly respected and both the landlord and the village community seemingly irreconcileably opposed to each other became interdependent and worked themselves into a solidarity, which could not be broken up even by intimidation or governmental force,[2] for, the sale of land by decree

[1] J. B. Norton: Topics for Indian Statesman, p 69.

[2] Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government, XXVIII, 1858.

was held to annihilate all derivative interests. Sales Law was clumsy legislation devised and enforced by aliens who had no intimate knowledge of the social and legal life of the people. It was out of harmony wlth the feelings of the people, and while breaking up the rights of those of the hereditary land-owner did not give security to the rights of the purchaser. Accordingly, as the results of the Indian Revolt bear out, many of the moneylenders, traders and others who came into possession of land under mortgages and sales were ousted or murdered during the Revolt. Anyhow, the effect of the measure was that the talukdars were robbed and degraded, the village proprietors dispossessed and ruined, and the moneylenders and traders who had taken their stead were placed at the mercy of a popular insurrection.

Similarly, the system of the Government's purchases of land which was put up for auction was iniquitous; besides, the British Administrators stigmatised native zamindars as "oppressors, plundering middlemen of the public estate", and regarded it a dereliction of duty to omit taking a fitting opportunity to oust the zamindar, from the land and obtain possession of the dispossessed zamindar's inheritance.[1] General revenue settlements, laws for the resumption of rent-free lands, and special Commission to carry such laws into effect, suppression of the custom of primogeniture, of the right of posthumous disposal by adoption, of the right

[1] B. P. Smollet: Civil Administration in Madras, 1855 56, p 72.74.
The Bombay Times: November to December, 1858.

of disposal during life, by gift or sale—and as a consequence, an enormous extension of the claims of the government by escheat—these were the principal means by which the Government of India destroyed the native land owners.

As the *wealth* of India has been mainly in the *land*, the policy that was destructive of native land owners was destructive of the wealthy classes in general. Accordingly, the landed and the wealthy classes in order to preserve their own interests which were in jeopardy began to organise themselves for that purpose and the Zamindars' Association or Land-holders' Society was founded in 1837 embracing people of all descriptions and rejecting all exclusiveness and making the possession of interest in the soil of the country as the necessary qualification for membership. Its object was to promote the general interest of land-holders and some of the Brahma Samaj leaders were its members. The Bengal British India Society was formed in 1843 with a view to collect and disseminate information relating to the actual condition of the people of India. Both these had English membership, till Bethuene's Resolutions in the Legislative Council, to protect the cultivator against intimidation and molestation by nonofficial Englishmen, aroused considerable indignation in the press and in public life. The English merchants and land-holders who had hitherto a fundamental unity of economic interests, separated on the question of the political status of administrators and of other divergent national groups in India.

The British India Association was formed in 1851 and its object was to secure improvements in the local

administration of the country and in the system of government laid down by Parliament.[1] The opinion of the Association was sought for by the Government on all legislative measures of importance. Its members were the pick of the landed aristocracy who began to demand several administrative changes in the government in order to make it popular and represent the sentiments of the people. The educated middle classes had no representation in the Association. The primary demands of this Association were the relaxation of the pressure of the revenue system, relief from monopolies, protection of the life and property of the people from molestation, and improvement of judicial administration, and lastly, the education of the people and the admission of the educated to offices in the administrative heirarchy. Under the inspiring leadership of Debendranath Tagore, the Association founded branch Associations at Oudh, Madras and other Presidency towns, primarily to enlighten the people about the nature of British administration, and about excessive revenue assessment by the Company and about the callousness of Company's servants to the needs of the landed classes, and the inadequacy of funds that were devoted to agricultural improvements. The Association was an organisation of landholders. Though it acquired an All-India outlook for a time, it identified itself mostly, with the interests of the landed aristocracy after 1858, and pleaded for Permanent Settlement all over India. In the consolidation of British rule in

[1] C. F. Andrews and Girija Mukerji : The Rise and Growth of the Congress, p 101.

India lay the strength and security of the landed classes. Therefore, the Association turned out to be pro-British as it had to preserve its own exclusive interests; and there was nothing national about its composition or functions; and because of its parochial character, and extremely cautious policy had to run the gauntlet of severe criticism and opprobrium.

Some Features of the British Administrative Policy in India.

At the same time, there was also the need for a political organisation of the educated middle classes to give expression to economic and political problems of the country, like the land-holders "not merely in hostile criticism but in well-founded judgment and with informed opinion". The Land Revenue policy of the Government had made talukdars and land-holders hostile; and the dispossessed unable to get redress for grievous wrong done to them were to join any organisation that would recognise and preserve their interests. The preponderance of the landed classes along with the educated middle classes in the early sessions of the Indian Congress explains this tendency. Likewise, the educated middle classes discovered early that administrative policy of the government and of the Civil Services, were equally hostile to their aspirations, national self-respect and integrity. The representatives of the middle classes were gathered in the National Association founded on July 26, 1875 by Surendranath Banerjee, with the object of creating a strong public opinion in India towards political questions and to

agitate for the establishment of constitutional government, which would promote Hindu-Moslem unity and unify the people on a common political programme. There was no fundamental antagonism between the two classes however divergent their outlook and economic interests were. Redress of grievances of both was to be secured by identity of political motives and of action.

Internal tranquillity was maintained by a foreign administration; but economically the effect of the administration was prejudicial to the interests of the middle classes and to the material progress of the country. The State was represented by a small minority of foreigners who disbursed nearly one third of the revenues received from the land on the remuneration of their own servants, and these foreigners had no abiding place on the soil, and no stake in the fortunes of the country. 'It is because we have acted on this principle all over India', Cotton states, 'that we have reduced the agricultural classes to such poverty'.[1] The evils of foreign rule were aggravated by absenticism, which otherwise could have been very much minimised by the benefits resulting from the integration of the agricultural classes in the Indian community. The Hindus, because the administration was characterised by racial arrogance and intolerance, could never be *en rapport* with the governing class at least to the extent they were under Muhommadan rule. 'The main evil of our system' Sir Thomas Munroe

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[1] H. J. S. Cotton: New India, p 54.

states 'is the degraded state in which we hold natives. ... ... We exclude them from every situation of trust and emolument. ... ... We treat them as an inferior race of beings.'[1] Distinctions were made in selection in the covenanted and uncovenanted services, military and political services, and all these, 'except in the very lowest ranks were closed against the Hindus'.[2]

The evils of exclusiveness in the administration had been deprecated by Elphinstone, Munro and other great Statesmen of the Age. The native gentry who were ruined by the severity of assessments looked chiefly to the service of the state for a means of subsistence. But, as all the chief offices in India were monopolised by Europeans, the minor ones only were open to them. Bribes and pecuniary gratifications were not forbidden even for these minor appointments, while several departments of public service were grossly underpaid. The result was as Colonel Low stated "The native gentry were becoming daily more reduced, were pinched by want of means and were therefore discontented".[3]

The educated middle classes had proved by example that they could hold their own with the best of

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1 Mementoes of the Government and the people by a Hindoo, 1858.

2 H. J. S. Cotton: New India, p 118 119.
Sir C Dilke: Problems of Greater Britain, p 124.
S. G. Campbell: The British Empire, p 70.
Dadabhai Naoroji: A Pamphlet on the Poverty of India, p 21.

3 Colonel Low: Mutinees in Oudh, p 55-57.

European talent in the Council Chamber, on the Bench, at the Bar and even in the market place.[1] 'It stands that,' Trevelyan stated 'if Indians are fit to be judges in the High Court, surely they are *afortiori*, fit for all inferior appointments ;' and Sir John Strachey, Bartle Frere, H. G. S. Cotton, Turner and Temple and other distinguished servants of Government spoke eulogistically of Indian officials, and of their blameless character, agreeable and even fascinating address,—a combination of philanthropy, of profound kindliness, and of considerable intellectual power, and comprehensiveness. 'The Indian civilian is gifted by nature with a temperament, dreamy and imaginative, and with a disposition, gentle and affectionate beyond all men,' ; had his line fallen on different places, and had he not at once put his craft into the turbulent sea of affairs, might very likely have found a haven and occupation in poetry. Birth, character, chivalry, patience, resolution, tact and courtesy,--these are his elements of strength.'[2] 'Many of the native *Tahsildars* and several *Sheristedars* in the Madras Territories', Smollet declared in 1857 'are superior in capacity to their European Superintendents, and a district is often wholly managed by their instrumentality, the collector himself being quite a non-entity in everything except in his official emoluments.'[3] This was but one testimony out of a multitude.

[1] Sir Charles Turner : Convocation Address, Madras, 1887.

[2] Sarvajanika Sabha : Findings on the Indian Civil Service, 1875.

[3] Smollet : Civil Administration of Madras, p 19-20.

Still, there was enormous difference of salary between the alien and the native who was rarely treated like 'an educated gentlemen but was trampled upon like menials.'[1] The great body of Anglo-Indian opinion was antagonistic to employment of Indians in high position, but there was unsolicited testimony by European Administrators to the remarkable intellectual and judicial acumen of the middle classes. Sir Richard Temple mentions of Indians of whom India could be proud, Madhava Rao whom Fawcet called the Turgot of India, Dinkar Rao of Gwalior, Kirparan of Jammu, Pundit Man Phul of Alwar, Madhava Rao Barve of Kollhapur, Purniah of Mysore, Ramachandra Rao of Indore, and others.'[2] 'The unshared rule of a close bureaucracy from across the seas' Dilke stated 'could not last long in the face of widspread modern education of a people so intelligent as the Indian natives.'[3] Physical causes and Governmental policy were slowly reducing the Indian to a condition of lifeless mediocrity.

[1] "Inquisitions are annually made into their private circumstances; the possession or acquisition of land is held to be a disqualification for office: their small salaries are in every month attenuated by fines for every trivial mistake or for delay in furnishing the ever increasing multitude of returns called for by half a dozen departments. Everything is done to disgust respectable natives with the service of government."

—Ibid, page 128.

[2] Sir Richard Temple: India in 1880, p 76.

[3] Sir C. Dilke: Problems of Greater Britain, p 145-146.

Evans Bell; Retrospects and prospects of Indian Policy, Preface p. vi.

The moral effect of the exclusive policy of the British in India was distressing, for the English attitude hardened as the Indian became more and more educated, more and more alive to his national self-respect and thus more and more conscious of his rights. Discriminatory treatment of Indians followed as a result. John Stuart Mill says 'The nation as a whole and every individual composing it are without any potential voice in their own destiny. They exercise no will in respect to their collective interests. All is decided for them by a will not their own which it is legally a crime for them to disobey. What sort of human beings can be formed under such a Regimen? What development can, either their thinking or their active faculties, attain under it? ... Their moral capacities are equally stunted; leaving things to the government, like leaving things to Providence, is synonymous with caring nothing about them and accepting their results when disagreeable as Visitations of Nature. ... It is an inherent condition of human affairs. ... that by their own hands only can any positive and durable improvement of their circumstances in life be worked out.' [1]

It was the systematic policy of the government to discourage independent and original talent, and to prefer docile mediocrity on the part of the ruled to active and intelligent participation in the services of government. The Government was blind to the truth that the healthy development of Indian civilisation

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[1] John Stuart Mill: Considerations on Representative Government, Ch. III.

could not proceed without space and range for the exercise of all the faculties of the Indians, and that too much constraint, however benevolently intended, would distort the phenomena of progress, disturb its steady course and drive the steam into dangerous channels. The educated Indians had come within the terms of a comparison with Europeans in a short time; and by their successes they had become competitors of the Anglo-Indians and Britishers for many posts of which the latter had hitherto had an unchallenged monopoly.[1]

The natives were excluded from services; the cost of British officers was enhanced and their salaries were increased and made high and the disparity between the Britisher and the native officer in emoluments became great. The Report of the Public Service Commission of 1886 exhibits the proportion of the higher grade appointments held by the Indians[2]; domiciled and non-domiciled Europeans dominated the public works and police and survey departments, while Eurasians found themselves in large numbers in Custom Departments. In that year there were only 69 Indians in the higher services as compared with 1998 European officers. In 1892 the Imperial Civil Service was composed of 939 members of whom 21 were Indians.[3] From a Parliamentary Return issued in 1892, it appears

[1] Report of the Public Service Commission 1886. C. H. Cameron: The Duties of Great Britain to India, p. 173-74.

[2] Anderson and Subedar: The development of an Indian Policy: 1818-1858.

[3] Sir John Strachey: India, 1894, p 58

that there were 28,000 Europeans holding posts with £ 1000 an year and upwards and that their emoluments amounted to no less than 15½ crores an year, nearly ⅓ of the gross revenue of the year. There were in the civil establishments of the Government in 1894, 7991 Europeans, 5347 Eurasians and 119514 natives including the pettiest clerks and peons on a salary of 7 rupees.[1]

The policy of exclusion of natives from higher administrative services was dictated by the post-Mutiny conditions in the country as a principle of cardinal political precaution and partly by enlightened self-interest. The East India Company which John Bright described as 'a piratical Company beginning with Clive and ending with Dalhousie' had been superseded by the Government of the Crown; 'the time had gone' Routledge declared 'when it could be justly said that if the English left India, the sole monument of their rule would be a pyramid of beer bottles".[2]

Still, there was no change in the British attitude towards Indian Officers whose resentment at the continued indifference and contempt for the Indians was mounting with the passage of years. There was not yet perhaps sufficient homogeneity, sufficient solidarity or community of interests anomg the people then for purposes of political action, but there was a remarkable

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[1] Speech of Mr. S. Keay; Proceedings of the House of Commons, 15th August 1894, quoted by P. N. Bose in 'Hindu Civilisation under British Rule' Vol. III, p. 138.

[2] Routledge: English Rule and Native Opinion in India, p 299.

community of feeling in that of antagonism to the British race. The seventies of the century revealed in all parts of the country, dissatisfaction in the army and among the landholders and civilians who complained of vexatious orders, of over-work, of differential pay and discreminatory treatment. When Routledge asked Sir Dinkar Rao, of native feeling, the latter stated 'never was more unfriendly and never more dangerous ... My friends say I am growing old. That is not it. I simply see great interests in peril.'[1] This was a common idea merely put into uncommon words which did not refer to the rule of any Viceroy, but to general principles of government which failed to find in the main that the Indians would be loyal to the very core of their nature, and ready to give up property and life and willing to be pleased with the simplicity of childhood, only when their affections were enlisted and reciprocated.

European lines of cleavage like the divisions between capital and labour or between commerce and land had not yet risen above the Indian horizon. But the unifying national consciousness that was manifest in India during the second half of the century was nothing more than a racial anti-British bias. A strange ferment of ideas worked in certain ranks of Indian

[1] The Times of India, July 23, 1875: "A Mahratta noble said 'I was true to you in the Mutiny as many of my friends; we would not so cheerfully strike for you again' Another man said, 'I am loyal because I know you to be invincible; if not, I tell you frankly I would be disloyal".

Society which began to view British actions with suspicion and seized every opportunity to criticise and censure their rulers. The race-feeling between rulers and the ruled instead of diminishing, increased with the spread of literary education.[1] For, the Government after the Revolt of 1857, apprehensive of revolutionary elements in the country, began to actively support the reactionary forces which were opposed to change and progress. Likewise, the Government ceased to be a social reformer and pledged itself to a state of strict neutrality in all religious and social matters. The agrarian population became discontented as a result of the land-revenue policy which impoverished them. The crippling of handicrafts and artisan industries, recurrent famines, the financial incidences of Afghan War aud Wahabi Movements, the resentment of the civilians for their degradation and the discriminatory treatment of the natives by the Government, widened the gulf between the natives and the British. The reduction of the Age limit for the Civil Service examination from twenty one to nineteen, with a view to keep out the Indians from high administrative services, the open partisanship of British economic interests by the abolition of import duties on cotton goods and the mutilation of justice in the direction of British preferences to the detriment of the Indian, witnessed as in the Maler Kotla riots of 1872 in Ludhiana, when the rebels were treated with savagery and utter inhumanity—all these instances only aggravated the situation.

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[1] Karkaria : Forty Years of Progress and Reform, 1896, p 94.

The regimes of Lord Mayo, Lord Northbrooke, and Lord Lytton, excited great public feeling against the British. The Afghan War entailed heavy financial expenditure; the Arms Act of 1878 was an outrage on national self-respect; and the Vernacular Press Act of 1877 aimed at the suppression of freedom of thought and of expression. Accordingly, the Indian Press with such papers as *Bharat Mihir*, *Samaj Darpana*, *Hindu Patriot* and *Samprakash* and others, carried on an intensive crusade against the iniquity of these measures and demanded their abolition.

Lord Ripon's liberal administration gave great encouragement to the Movement for Constitutional Reform, and repealed the Press Act and fostered freedom of expression and thus tried to stir up popular feeling in favour of the British Government. While the policy of Lord Lytton was that of the Conservative Salisbury and Beaconsfield, Lord Ripon with a great Liberal tradition devoted himself to carry out faithfully the objectives of Gladstone, and by so doing, earned the undying gratitude of the educated middle classes and the representatives of the Congress of the earlier years.

The dominant note of the Age of Ripon was Liberalism which saw the prime menace to human development in the denial of liberty for which the spirit of man craved; it was a philosophy that attacked the exclusive privileges of an aristocratic society, and opposed their political control which was exercised by a few wealthy families for generations. The Liberals wanted a state whose perfection consisted in the freedom enjoyed by its subjects to live in accordance with their

own wishes. It was exemplary conduct through legislation that would contribute to the health of a society, and not coercion or force. The emphasis was on education and on enfranchisement, and on the improvement of the political power of the masses. The Liberal Movement was primarily political in origin and represented a revolt against the oligarchy of the privileged classes.

As its principle was 'liberty-within-community, and expanding liberty within expanding community', it was a philosophy which was not a static set of ideas but a constantly growing view of human relations. The influence of philosophers, like John Stuart Mill, T. H. Green and others who tried to establish a framework of freedom by reconciling the need for State control with individual freedom, was great among Indian intellectuals in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. It was an Age when Collectivism and the anarchy of militant nationalism were not dreamt of and thus, it was possible to foster freedom of the individual and of institutional life in such a way as to make it compatible with common welfare. The Vernacular Press Act was repealed and Ilbert Bill received the whole hearted support of Ripon's Government which devoted itself to lay the foundations of national self government by the enactment of local self-government Acts.

Ripon's administration changed the atmosphere which had been vitiated by Lord Lytton's Press Acts, and attempted to conciliate hostile Indian feeling; but it antagonised the European elements who were now

forced to receive justice on a footing of equality with Indians. The racial insolence betrayed in this antagonism taught the Indians how to organise, spread knowledge about the antipathy of the rulers to the ruled, and how to act in concert when confronted with danger, with a well-defined line of action. Accordingly no time was more propitious than the eighties for an organisation of an All-India political body, like that of the Congress that was founded in 1885.

The Indian National Congress.

In 1880 the foundation of the Congress would have been considered Utopian and impossible.[1] That there was manifestation of political consciousness even in the Native States during the seventies and eighties is evident from the opposition to Gaekwar of Baroda's treatment and the demand for a Representative Assembly in Mysore. Political Associations and the native Press had all educated the masses about the need for an Association to secure interchange of opinion and this was emphasised by Ananda Mohan Bose, the President of the First National Conference at Calcutta and Veeraraghavachariar, the Founder of the Madras Mahajana Sabha in 1884.[2] Public opinion was aroused by Surendranath Banerji's imprisonment for contempt of Court, and Banerji says 'the public mind struggles for expression in all directions, in melodious songs, in

1 Report and Proceedings of the First Indian National Congress, p 20-21.

2 'Hindu' Silver Jubilee Supplement. Sept. 21, 1903. Wedderburn: Hume, 50-52.

passionate utterances, in the Press and from the platform, and in enterprises which bear on them the ineffaceable mark of daring and originality '.[1] The public mind found an outlet in a new political Association.

The Objects of this new Association were to have a permanent delegate in England to represent to the rulers, the true state of this country and to agitate for a solution of Indian questions; to adopt suitable means for the purpose of imparting political education to the people of India, and for this purpose to have a staff of political Missionaries, whose duties would be among other things to establish peoples' Associations, Shopkeepers' Associations and the like wherever possible; to encourage national trade and industry; to adopt means for the creation of good feeling between the different religious sects of India.[2] Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramiah says ' it is shrouded mystery as to who originated the idea of an All India Congress '.[3] Gokhale opined that no Indian could have started the Indian National Congress[4] The idea of the Indian National Congress originated with Hume,[5] though John Murdoek regards the International Exhibition held at Calcutta in 1884 as the source of inspiration for the formation of an All India Association. Hume had been brought up in the liberal tradition of the Manchester School and the

[1] A Nation in making, p 78-79.

[2] A Nation in making. p 81.

[3] Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramiah: The History of the Indian National Congress, p 16.

[4] Wedderburn: Hume, p 63.

[5] C. F. Andrews and Mukerji: The Rise and growth of the Congress, p 122.

initiative for the first Congress came from him, though Tarapada Banerji, Kristodas Pal and others, had already indicated the urgency of convening a National Assembly and organising a National Fund to support the movement. Hume himself admits that he was not the sole author of the movement and that the Congress movement was the outcome of the labours of a body of cultured men, mostly, born natives of India who had banded themselves together to labour silently for the good of India.[1] He refers to the Indian National Union, which like him, was anxious for an organised channel of communication between the ruler and the ruled. The anxiety of Hume in particular was to arrest the spread of discontent among the several secret quasi-religious Orders of *Sanyasins* by the establishment of an All India Institution; and this was evident from his statement 'I could not then, and do not now entertain a shadow of a doubt that we were then truly in extreme danger of a most terrible Revolution.[2] ... The poor classes of N. W. Provinces, Oudh, Behar etc. were all so pervaded with a sense of the hopelessness of the existing state of affairs that they were convinced that they would strive and die, and they therefore should stand by each other and do something which meant violence.[3] There were Agrarian riots in Bombay; everywhere there was the talk of manifestation again of Sivaji the Second significantly indicative of warnings to government. Hume mentions of seven large volumes

[1] A speech on the Indian National Congress, its origin, aims and objects, 1889, p 2.

[2] Sir William Wedderburn : Allan Octavian Hume, p 80.

[3] ,, ,, ,, ,, p 81, 82.

being shown to him which reveals charts of partition of the country and a certain mode of dividing it excluding Burmah, Assam and some minor tracts.[1] The poverty of the people was stressed in the first native Conference organised by the Madras Mahajana Sabha,[2] and references were made to the paradox of the great hardship of the people in the midst of the profound peace of the country. Hume's palliative for the growing unrest was a circular letter to the Graduates of the Calcutta University, in which he said that the aliens though they loved India lacked the essential of nationality and therefore the real work should be done by the people themselves.[3] He called for an organisation of fifty founders. Organisations for social reform were becoming political and Lord Dufferin suggested that the Founders' Committee which Hume had organised, should occupy itself with political matters, and welcomed the proposal of Lord Reay, Governor of Bombay presiding over the first meeting, as indicative of the desire of the Government to work in complete harmony with the Congress.[4] This Association of Englishmen with Indian National Organisations was stigmatised and 'The Indian National Congress' was called an 'English Product' by Lala Lajput Rai who contended that it was impossible to strangle by force the cry of political liberty and equality which had sprung up in the atmosphere created by Lord Ripon's

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1 Sir William Wedderburn: Allen Octavian Hume, p 80.
2 People's Magazine, Vol. I. Dec. March 1875, p 72.
3 Sir William Wedderburn: Allen Octavian Hume, p 50, 52.
4 " " p 59, 60.

policy, and so decided to guide it and to make it as innocuous as it could be without rousing the suspicion of those who were to be the tools of the British.[1]

There is some justification for this critical but suspicious approach of the new Organisation, for, a scrutiny of the qualification for membership confirms the suspicion. The qualifications required[2] were an unblemished record, public and private; an earnest and unwavering desire to improve the status, either material, mental, moral or political of the people of India; marked natural intelligence adequately developed by education; a willingness to sink when decision demands this sacrifice, selfish and personal interests in altruistic and public considerations; independence of character coupled with sobriety of judgment. The Mahajana Sabha of Madras was active in the discussion of this paramount question, which led to correspondence between the leaders of political opinion in Calcutta and Bombay; and finally a Conference of Representatives was decided upon at Poona under the auspices of Sarvajanika Sabha.[3]

The delegates were chosen by local select Committees set up by the Union. Bengal which was the first to organise the national union was poorly represented, for, the suggestion for the creation of this new body was drawn from the most eminent and earnest politicians of the Empire, who all insisted on unswerving loyalty

1 Lala Lajput Rai: Young India, p 121, 122.

2 Sir William Wedderburn: A. O. Hume, p 53-54.

3 A. C. Mazumdar: The Indian National Evolution, p 48.

to the British Crown as the keynote of the new institution.[1] British public opinion which was too much influenced by Anglo-Indians, was to be educated as regards the Indian view of contemporary events and to secure Members of Parliament who would ventilate Indian grievances in the House.[2] A distinction was made between Representatives, and those who were sent to England and now designated as Delegates. While the Congress met at Bombay under W. C. Bonnerjee, the Indian Association, British Indian Association and the Central Mahommedan Association abstained from it, though nearly twenty well-known men of Bengal, like Gurudas Banerjee, Kali Mohan Ghosh, Mohesh Chandra Chowdry, Kali Charan Banerjee were expected to attend it.[2] But a conference in December 1885, was convened at the same time in Calcutta. The spectacle which presented itself of men representing the various races and communities, castes and subdivisions of castes, or religions and subdivisions of religions meeting together in one place to form themselves into a political whole was most unique and interesting.[3]

Article I of the Constitution of the Indian National Congress stated "The objects of the Indian National Congress are the attainment by the people of India of a system of government similar to that enjoyed by the self-governing members of the British Empire and a

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[1] Wedderburn: A. O. Hume, p 53 54.

[2] Wedderburn: A. O. Hume, p 56, 57.

[3] Report and Proceedings of the First Indian National Congress, p 3.

participation by them in the rights and responsibilities of the Empire on equal terms with those members. These objects are to be achieved by constitutional means, by bringing about a steady reform of the administration and by promoting national unity, fostering public spirit, and developing and organising the intellectual, moral, economic and industrial resources of the Country." The basic principles of the Congress in 1885 were "the fusion into one national whole, of all the different and discordant elements of India that constituted the population of India; gradual regeneration along all lines, mental, moral, social and political of the nation thus evolved; the consolidation of the Union between England and India; these were some of the objects and the Congress further intended to foster a wider altruism and a more genuine public spirit, by concentrating the most strenuous efforts on great national questions and diminishing the absorption in local or purely selfish interests.[1] The President Bonnerjee said "It was not merely Provinces that were represented, but almost all the political Associations in the Empire were represented, by one or more of the gentlemen present. While as regards the Press, the presence of the proprietors, editors or delegates of the 'Mirror,' 'The Hindu,' 'The Indian Spectator,' 'The Tribune' showed conclusively, the universality of the feeling which had culminated in this great and memorable gathering.[2] The representative character of the

[1] O. Allen: The Indian National Congress, its origin, aims and objects. 1888. p 3, 5.

[2] Report and proceedings of the First National Congress, p. 5.

Congress was indicated by the presence of barristers, pleaders, merchants, landlords, bankers, medicalmen, newspaper editors, head-masters of schools, Principals and professors, and even Muslims and Christians; but the gathering was got together by the exertions of a few leading reformers. The representatives were not of the Indian Nation but of the Westernised educated section of the population and they were for the most part Hindu.[1] It had not much publicity; and Surendranath Banerjee was not aware of it and he held the Second National Conference at Calcutta at about the same time.[2] The political Associations were comprised of the higher *classes* and their programme was mainly concerned with the interest of the *classes*, because, due to lack of education the masses remained indifferent to the new political currents. 'Politically speaking' Betty Balfour stated 'The Indian peasantry is an inert mass—the only political representatives of native opinion are the Baboos who really represent nothing but the social anamoly of their own position.'[3] The Congress was pre-eminently a middle class Parliament, 'The germ of a native Parliament.'[4] Among the Founders of this new political body were W. C. Bonnerjee, Dadabhai Naoroji, Narendranath Sen, editor of the Indian Mirror,

[1] Report and Proceedings of Second Indian National Congress p. 1.

[2] S. Banerjee: A nation in making. p, 67.

[3] Personal and Literary letters, Vol II. Edited by Lady Betty Belfour, p. 20.

[4] Report and Proceedings of the First Indian National Congress. p 4.

Kasinath Triambuck Telang and Pherozshah Mehta, Rahimatulla Sayani, Dinshaw Edalgi Wacha, Ganga Prasad Varma, Lala Murlidhar (Punjab), Rangiah Naidu, G. Subramanya Iyer, Sabhapathi Mudaliar, Anandacharlu, Veeraraghavachariar of Madras, and Hume.[1]

The Attitude of the Government.

It was Hume who had foreseen the consequences of the rise of the middle classes and had advised Lord Dufferin to canalize the springs of national enthusiasm. "It was the British Government who by the broadest dissemination of western education and western ideas of liberty, the rights of subjects, public spirit and patriotism, have let loose forces which unless controlled must involve consequences which are too disastrous to contemplate. It is precisely to limit and direct these forces that this Congress movement was designed."[2] The Government's educational and administrative policy had created the *literati* which was to build up the tradition of liberty and right in the country, and the Congress was convened with the sympathies of the government. Both Lord Dufferin and later in 1887 Lord Connemara Governor of Madras, entertained the delegates,[3] of the Congress, a phenomenon fraught with great significance to the country. Though Sir Alfred Lyall in his Biogra-

[1] A. C. Muzumdar: Indian National Evolution p 59.66.

[2] The Indian National Congress—its origin, aims and objects, speech at Allahabad, Apr. 1888, p 14.

[3] Report and Proceedings of the Indian National Congress Second, p. 39.

phy of Lord Dufferin does not make mention of the sympathetic attitude of Dufferin to the National Congress, one cannot fail to derive enlightenment on the attitude of the Viceroy towards Indian aspirations, from a significant correspondence that took place between Lord Dufferin and Bradlaugh. Dufferin, in reply to a charge by Bradlaugh that the Viceroy at St. Andrews Dinner speech delivered on November 30, 1888, had misrepresented the avowed aims of the Congress, assured him that he never either directly or by implication gave utterance to such an opinion ; and that he had all along referred to the Congress in terms of sympathy and respect, and treated the members with great personal civility.[1] Dadabhai Naroji testified to the sympathatic attitude of Dufferin, in the Second Congress meeting, held in Calcutta in 1886. He said 'when I think of Lord Dufferin not only as our present Viceroy, but bearing in mind all we know of him in his past career, I should hesitate to believe that he could be a man devoid of the deepest sympathy with any person struggling to advance and improve the political situation. ... ... I am able to say in the words of one of these friends that the Viceroy's instincts are eminently *liberal*, and he regards with neither jealousy nor alarm the desire of the educated classes to be allowed a large share in the administration of their own reforms. Indeed, he considers it very creditable to them that they

[1] Charles Bradlaugh : A record of his life and work, by Hypatia Bradlaugh Bonner, with an account of his parliamentary struggles, politics and teachings. John M. Robertson, 1908.

Audi Alteram Partem with Sir Auckland Colvin's letter .

should be so."[1] Mr. Hume was convinced by Lord Dufferin's arguments and when he placed his own scheme and of Lord Dufferin's before the leading politicians of Calcutta, Madras, Bombay and other parts of the country, the latter unanimously accepted Lord Dufferin's scheme and proceeded to give effect to it.[2] Bonnerji wrote in the Hindustan Review, December 1903, that Dufferin had made it a condition with Hume that his name in connection with the scheme of the Congress should not be divulged so long as he remained in the Country and this condition was faithfully maintained and none but the men consulted by Hume knew anything about the matter.[3]

The encouragement by the Government and intensive propaganda by the Congress to build up a unity of all classes and interests provoked a wide-spread opposition both by the Muslims and the officials in 1888.[4] Like Muslims, the officials from the beginning were opposed to the political aspirations of the Congress. 'It is a well-known fact that the generality of the Anglo-Indian officials conduct the administration of this country in a manner which best ensures the preservation of their interest and of the services to which they belong. Their policy is always opposed to their own advancement.'[5] Disapproval turned into open hostility

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1 Report and Proceedings of the Second Indian National Congress, Presidential Address. p 2.

2 Wedderburn : Hume p. 59.

3 Hindustan Review, December 1903

4 Report and Proceedings of the Indian National Congress, Fourth Congress, p. 1.

5 Do do do First Congress, p. 21.

as years rolled on.[1] Auckland Colvin and others who were sympathetic were shocked at the subversive activities of the Congress in 1888, at the misrepresentation of policy and action of government, and at the propaganda of hatred against the government, that they decided to checkmate its campaign at any cost.[2] The Anglo-Indian press condemned the educated section of the Indian community, for having organised the Congress as a political conclave meeting once a year to criticise acts of the Indian government, while several of the administrators were sympathetic to the Indian National Congress. Hume regarded that the fundamental objects of the Congress were worthy of the sympathy, respect and support of all good men ; Sir Auckland Colvin in a letter to Hume promised that the Congress should receive the same kindly welcome at his hands at its Allahabad's sessions that it had received at Calcutta and Madras from those of Lord Dufferin aad Connemara. Mr. Morley said in 1905 'I do not say that I agree with all that the Congress desires, but speaking broadly of what I conceive to be at the bottom of the Congress, I do not see why anyone who takes a cool and steady view of Indian Government should be frightened. I do not at once conclude that because a man is dissatisfied and discontented, therefore, he is disaffected.' The statements of Colvin and Dufferin who were apprehensive of the turn the Congress had taken, are worth considering. 'Nobody is more willing than I am to recognise, encourage and

[1] A. O. Hume: A speech on the Indian National Congress, Allahabad, p 67.

[2] Audi Alteram Partem, p 26.

find under the Government of India, an opening for the younger men who have sprung into existence as a new factor in the country. But, I cannot on that account recognise in these forward elements the political maturity of all India ... the most advanced element ... still is in the stage of political babyhood. No nation will in a very short time put into practice all conceptions of political life confined at present mainly to the Anglo-Saxon race ... and only by them elaborated after long and painful centuries.'[1] Dufferin, likewise opined that the application to India of democratic methods of government and the adoption of a Parliamentary system were a very big jump into the unknown, for, these have been reached by England by slow degrees, and through the discipline of many centuries of preparation.[2] The real obstacle to Congress aspirations was the Civil Service.[3] The displeasure of officials was a warning to local worthies and to the servants of government to stand as delegates particularly in the United Provinces. That the government began to look upon Congress as a revolutionary body, hostile to the benevolent purposes of government was made clear in 1889 in Calcutta in its prevention of servants of Government attending Congress meetings even as visitors and at the threat of dismissal by senior officers.[4]

[1] Audi Alteram Partem, p 26.

[2] C. K. Black : The Marquess of Dufferin and Ava, p 202.

[3] W. S. Caine : Letters from India ; Letter XI, Jan. 30, 1889

Report and Proceedings of the Indian National Congress, Fourth Congress, p. 7 9.

[4] ,, Sixth Congress, p 57.

The offer of membership to government servants was rejected since the orders of the Government of India definitely prohibited the presence of government officials at such meetings. Pheroz Shaw Mehta's spirited challenge provoked Lord Lansdowne to revise the attitude of Government and to issue a circular stating Government's objections to seditious publications, while at the same time agreeing with the perfectly legitimate aspirations of the Movement.[1] The Congress movement represented in India what in Europe would be called the more advanced Liberal party as distinguished from the great body of conservative opinions which existed side by side with it. They desired themselves to maintain an attitude of neutrality in their relations with both parties, so long as these acted strictly within constitutional limits. The Congress intended that all government servants should preserve a similar attitude of neutrality and should abstain from active participation in political and quasi-political movements of all kinds and also from putting pressure upon others in order to induce them to take part, or not to take part, in any movement which was legitimate in itself.

The Congress was the germ of a native Parliament. The aims were made clear by W. C. Bonnerjee[2] and by A. O. Hume's letters to Sir Auckland Colvin[3] and by a Manifesto which was signed by Wedderburn, Hume

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[1] Report and Proceedings of the Sixth Congress, p 34.

[2] Report and Proceedings of the First Indian National Congress, Presidential Address. p 3.

[3] Audi Alteram Partem, with Auckland's letter.

and Naoroji.[1] It was a constitutional movement by the educated classes. It represented 'the laudable intentions of the educated classes to do their part in promoting the welfare of India and especially in improving the economic conditions of the masses. The fundamental principle of the Congress was the maintenance of British rule, the object being to make it so conformable to the welfare and wishes of the people as to give it the strength and permanence of a national government'. The originators of the Movement intended to achieve this object by placing at the government's disposal the most experienced section of responsible Indian public opinion. 'Taking as our basis the maintenance of British rule, our object has been to obtain solidarity of public opinion founded upon the widest experience and the wisest councils available under existing circumstances.

It is for this purpose, propaganda was done not only in India but also in England, and William Digby stated that propaganda was necessary to secure for the dumb and downtrodden peoples of India a free nation's appreciative sympathy and warm succour, and to touch the heart and to deeply move the emotion of the enfranchised millions of the United Kingdom with reference to the unfortunate state of political subjection of the Indians.'[2] Naoroji and Hume were keen on a campaign of intensive propaganda in the United Kingdom, in the Houses of Parliament and in the Press of

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[1] Manifesto reproduced in Appendix B.
National Congress, 1901.

[2] India for Indians and for England, Nov. 1885, Preface.

England.[1] The educated classes in India had imbedded their faith in the purity and the infalliability of English public opinion destroying political abuses and redressing Indian grievances. That this belief permeated the Congress in its early years is clear from the statements of Pandit Bishan Narayan Dhar and of other Congressmen. 'England, the august Mother of free nations will confer upon us the boon of those political rights and privileges, which far from weakening and sapping would strengthen and consolidate the mighty fabric of her worldwide empire.[2] Indian and English officials may violate my liberties and usurp my rights, but I know that English public opinion will ever be, as it always has been, on the side of justice and righteousness.[3]

The Congress had been impressed during the first few years of its activity that English officials as a body had denied utterly the justice of the contentions of the Indian and were not convinced by anything that the Indians could ever possibly say .... The only hope for India lay in awakening the British public to a sense of the wrongs of the Indian people, to flood Great Britain with pamphlets, leaflets, newspapers and magazine articles, and in a word, to carry on an agitation there on the lines and Scale of that in virtue of which the Anti-Corn Law League triumphed.[4] The method of attainment was to proclaim the fact of

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1 Wedderburn : A. O. Hume p. 84.
Masani; Dadabhai Naoroji, p 415.

2 India in England, Vol. II. 1889. Introduction.

3 Advocate, June 19, 1888.

4 Wedderburn : A. O. Hume, p 85-86.

despotism, the gross extravagance of the Government of India, of the extreme poverty of the masses, of the abuses of the judicial system and the need for a radical change.[1]

An office of the Congress at 25, Craven Street, Strand, London, was established with the assistance of William Digby and Charles Bradlaugh to serve *unofficial* India on the lines, the India Office was serving *official* India. This political agency took to the distribution of thousands of copies of Congress speeches among the British public and Charles Bradlaugh undertook to lecture on Indian problems throughout the country, and this involved an expenditure of £ 1700 to £ 2500. The Congress of 1889[3] in its Resolution XIII ratified the work of the Indian political agency consisting of such eminent men as Sir William Wedderburn, Naoroji, W. S. Caine, M. P., W. S. Bright, Mclaren, M.P., William Digby, John Ellis, M.P., George Yule, W. C. Bonnerjee, Sir Charles Schwann, M.P., Sir Herbert Roberts and Dr. B. G. Clark and Martin Wood, M.P. The Congress also accepted to meet the expenses incurred thereby. The Committee in London was to be known as the British Committee of the Indian National Congress and Rs. 45,000/- for its expenses was to be raised in India.[4] Prominent Indian visitors to England were to be co-

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1 Two Memorable Speeches of Mr. Eardley Norton, Madras 1888, G. P. Varma Lucknow, 1889.

2 Masani : Dadabhai Naoroji p 306.

3 Report and proceedings of the Fifth Indian National Congress, p 77-78.

4 " " " p 83.

opted to the Committee. The result was, during the following years when men of such eminence as Sir Pheroz Shah Mehta, Surendranath Banerji, Subrahmanya Iyer, D. E. Wacha, G. K. Gokhale and others visited England, they were co-opted, and the Committee sedulously endeavoured to counteract the hostile influence of the India Office which was always intent on giving the official view of all Indian questions; and to persist in spite of opposition in disseminating the people's view of Indian questions in Parliament.[1]

The journal 'India' was started in 1890 to place the Indian view of Indian affairs before the British public and to give trustworthy information to the British Public. An Indian Parliamentary Committee was constituted in 1893 to secure combined Parliamentary action for a just and sympathetic policy towards India. Canvassing among members of Parliament for membership of the Committee was done, and there were 154 members in the Committee by the end of 1893. The Congress resolved in the Poona Session of 1889 to do propaganda in England (Resolution XIII) through a Committee consisting of George Yule, A. O. Hume, Adams, Eardley Norton, Pherozshah Mehta, Banerjee, Manomohan Ghose, Shurffuddin, K. N. Mudholkar, W. C. Bonnerjee to press on the consideration of the British public, the political Reforms which the Congress advocated viz. 'The beginning of Representative Government by the expansion and reconstruction of the Councils.'[2]

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1 Sir William Wedderburn: Allen Octavian Hume, p 90.

2 Surendranath Banerjee: A Nation in Making, p 110.113.

A Deputation to England of the Committee of speakers constituted by the Indian National Congress succeeded in addressing meetings and getting an interview with Gladstone who was persuaded to speak on Lord Cross's Bill on the expansion of the Councils and support the elective principle.[1] William Digby, the author of "Prosperous British India," and "Queen Empress's Promises, How they are broken," and India, for the Indians and for England," was responsible for the production of a number of pamphlets and leaflets giving the British an authentic information about India; 40,000 rupees was voted for the expenses of the Committee in England; Sir William Wedderburn and Naoroji devoted their energy to collect funds and maintain the Committee and the Jonrnal.[2]

An interchange of British and Indian leaders was encouraged. Wedderburn, Caine and Charles Bradlaugh visited India and addressed the Congress, and a Resolution[3] in the Congress of 1890 proposed the holding of a Session in London in 1892 and to make provisional arrangements for deputing 100 delegates to the Congress so that the requisite impression on the British public might be created to view Indian questions with understanding and sympathy. But, because a general election was impending, the British Committee advised the Congress to postpone its decision to hold the Session

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1 Surendranath Banerjee: A Nation in Making, p 110-13.

2 S. K. Ratcliffe: Sir William Wedderburn and the Indian Reform Movement.

3 Resolution XI of 1890— Report and Proceedings of the Sixth Indian National Congress, p 65.

in London. It is very significant that while the Liberals evinced the greatest sympathy for the Indian cause, and invitations from Liberal Clubs were extended to Indian Leaders, no Conservative manifested the faintest desire to become acquainted with the manifold and complicated social and political problems that were agitating the mind of India. The position of the Congress in relation to the Government was clear. It was not merely to enlist the support of the Muslims but also that of the Government. A feeling of mutual deference was to be engendered with the animating consideration of the achievement of Indian solidarity under the aegis of British support. The Congress policy was to be one of 'Constitutional Agitation' and to make the body, a venue of enlightened opinion on the pressing political questions of the day, and to submit the results of their investigation and conclusions to Government.[1] It was a Loyalist body in complexion, shape and outlook. But from 1890, onwards new and young men entered the scene, like B. G. Tilak, B. C. Pal, Lala Lajpat Rai. Tilak's speeches on the Arms Act of 1891 and his anti-government campaign in Kesari in 1891 on the Age of Consent Bill are interesting, as these marked the emergence of a new spirit of criticism. Lala Murlidhar's speech at Nagpur in 1891 on Indian Poverty, which was an indictment of British Rule also showed the development of extremism.[2] Caine in one of his letters

[1] Report and Proceedings of the III Congress. p 1.
Mehta as a Chairman and Surendranath Banerjee on the Second Resolution, 1887.

[2] Report and Proceedings of the Seventh Indian National Congress. p. 21-22.

dated December 29, 1888 stated that the Congress would turn out the Frankeinstein of the Government's own creation,[1] and many civilians and non-officials left that it was prophetic.

The professions of the delegates of the Congress are given as under.

	1885	1886	1887 1888	1889	1890	1891	1892
Rajahs		7	N	12	11	N	4
Members of Legis-			O			O	
tive Councils	3	6	T	4	5	T	2
Municipal Councillors							
and District Boards		57	A	404	211	A	109
Legal Profession	32	129	V	593	312	V	140
Missionaries, Christians			A			A	
and Hindus	3	4	I	57	18	I	25
Doctors	1	11	L	53	32	L	18
Editors	10	31	A	85	34	A	40
Educationists	2	20	B	318	209	B	116
Zamindars, Landholders	3	111	L	560	262	L	228
Bankers	5	31	E	144	110	E	100
Merchants				383			
Political Associations							
& Officials	6	16		51	104		41
Planters					19		13

[1] W. S. Caine: Letters from India, Letter No. VIII December 29, 1888.

Councillors :	Vice-Chairmen, District Boards, Local Boards, Members of District Boards, Local Boards, Chairmen of Municipalities, Municipal Commissioners.
Landed Interests	Zamindars, Talukdars, Landholders, Jagirdars, Raisos, Waakdars, Cultivators.
Moneyed Classes :	Contractors, Bankers, Money-lenders, Merchants, Traders, Mill owners.
Planters :	Indigo and Tea.
Law Profession :	Barristers, Advocates, Solicitors, Vakils, Pleaders, Muktees.
Educationists :	Fellows of Universities, Graduates, School Masters.
Editors :	Newspaper Proprietors, Editors, Journalists.
Officials :	Engineers, Pensioners, Translators, Private Services.
Missionary :	Hindu, Brahmin, Christian, Muslim, Arya Samaj.

PROFESSIONS.

	1898	1899	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904
Landed Interests	74	37	30	254	21	101	129
Merchants, Bankers	90	114	158	85	160	71	282
Legal Profession	211	193	264	332	141	292	390
Educationists	48	30	38	27			
Editors	28	34	24	30		9	
Doctors	15	15	27	28			
Non-official Councillors		11	26				
Miscellaneous Officials	14	11	26	140	131	116	193
Others	614		567	866	471	538	1010

Miscellaneous includes Shroffs, servants, clerks and persons who have not given their designation or occupation.

From an examination of these Tables we get some broad conclusions. The landed interests showed increasing representation, 28·7% in 1886 and 32·3% in 1892. They showed no great interest in politics, because of self-interest, but they were there to safeguard their own interest. Most of these land owners had common interests with lawyers and businessmen, as most of them were also lawyers. But it was only the Hindu land-owners who were pursuing their occupations. The cultivators and ryots were meagerly represented, because of poverty, of lack of education and therefore lack of interest in political matters. The legal profession was strongly represented and the percentage of representation varied between 33% to 35%. The Report of the

Second Congress read " The legal profession is the one path to distinction, position and wealth outside government service open to Indians of ability and of moderate means and now and on, the bulk of the best and cleverest men in the whole country appeared at this Congress." [1]

The lawyers had already formed the bulk of the Indian rising intellectual aristocracy and had come to influence politics as well as society. In India where the aristocracy and the landlord class were prone to absenteeism, and, if resident pinned their hopes on the favour of the government, and where the merchants were small and confined to cities, the Bar naturally became the only body capable of taking a prominent position before the public eye. The warfare of the Courts fascinated the Indian, and the peasantry fully understood and followed them with enthusiasm. In Court trials wit and craft, eloquence and cunning had their due appreciation. There was no antagonism between letters and law and the best of Indian wit and letters could be found among the practitioners of the Bar. A great number of the Indian leaders of the Congress and of the Councils were members of the Indian Bar ; and the public had an access to the Courts, which they had not to the Legislative Assembly. The Lawyer was almost the only person who had the opportunity of becoming prominent by espousing the popular cause, because there was no one else whose interest and duty combined to bring him on occasions

[1] Report and proceedings of the Second Indian National Congress, p 6.

into conflict with Government. Other professional classes that were represented in the Congress varied between 12 to 16%. But the Press was always well-represented. Government servants of higher educational services attended the Congress in small numbers, as they were precluded from attending as delegates.[1] The commercial classes showed a rise in representation from 9 to 13%. The higher commercial classes were represented fairly adequately, while petty traders were poorly represented. The proportion was 1 to 9. Missionaries and others were there but not in appreciable numbers.

The Congress was predominantly a Hindu gathering. The high officers of the Congress and a large percentage of delegates were Brahmins, as they had a traditional monopoly of learning and were the first to take to Western system of education. The high offices of the Congress were filled by Brahmins.

Curzon who was Under-Secretary of State for India in 1892 stated that 'the Congress contains a number of intelligent liberal-minded and public spirited men who undoubtedly represent that portion of the Indian people which has profited by the educational advantages placed at their doors ... and which is more or less imbued with European ideas. ... They represent a minute almost microscopic minority of the total population of India.'[2] It is clear from the proceedings

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[1] Report and Proceedings of the Indian National Congress, Second Congress, p. 7.

[2] Debates and Questions on Indian Affairs, 1892. p. 131 132.

of the Fourth Congress that the adherents of the Congress numbered thousands and there was great enthusiasm for Congress activity among those, who had not received any English education.[1] Of the 72 representatives in the Congress 70 were Hindus and the other two representatives who were Muslims were Bombay Attorneys. The Congress was to be national and not Hindu and according to the Second Report of 1886. The Congress is a community of temporal interests and not of spiritual convictions that qualify men to represent each other in the discussion of political questions; we hold their general interests in this country being identical, Hindus, Christians, Muslims and Parsis may fitly as members of their respective communities represent each other in the discussion of public secular affairs. There will be difference of opinion as to details, but their difference will hinge, not on differences of creed, but on differences in social position, profession, occupation and the like ... Therefore we utterly deprecate the introduction of any religious sentiment or any reference to gentlemen's religious beliefs into political movements of the nature of these Congresses.[2] That the leaders strived to secure co-operation of the Communities is noticed in their fairly adequate representation in the Congress during the years 1886 and 1890: In the Congress of 1886, there were 387 Hindus and 33 Muslims; in 1887, there were 81 Muslims while Hindu Delegates

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[1] Report and Proceedings of the Fourth Indian National Congress, Presidential Address. p 10.

[2] Report and Proceedings of the Fourth Indian National Congress, p 7, 8.

numbered 492 ; 221 Muslims and 965 Hindus attended the Congress of 1888. In 1889, the Hindus numbered 1397 of which 774 were Brahmins, and there were 254 Muslim delegates ; 507 Hindus and 116 Muslims attended the Congress of 1890. In the Congress session of 1891, there were Europeans, Eurasians and Indians ; there were Hindus of many castes and belonging to several sects ; there were Shia and Sunni Muslims. Jains, Jews, Parsees and Sikhs.[1] In the Congress of 1892, there were 510 Hindus of which 266 were Brahmins, and the Muslim delegates totalled only 89. One of the Muslim delegates to the Congress stated that 'taking the Congress as a whole I can hardly allow it the title of 'National'. It is much more of a Hindu than a Mahomedan[2] Congress.' That there was Hindu predominance in the Congress is clear from the following table :

	Hindus	Muslims	Others	Total
1886	387	33	16	436
1887	492	81	34	607
1888	965	221	62	1248
1889	1502	254	133	1889
1890	525	116	36	677
1892	518	89	18	625

The Muslims were hostile to the Congress. Numerically while the figures show a steady increase with

[1] Report and Proceedings of the Seventh Indian National Congress, p 5.

[2] Report and Proceedings of the Fifth Indian National Congress, Resolution XI. p 35.

the years and the total number of delegates who attended the Congress too were increasing, the proportion of Muslims remained low. Inside the Congress the Muslims tried to split into two groups. The majority of Muslim delegates gathered round such men as Budrudin Tyabji, Muslim President of the Congress in 1887, and Nawab Reza Ali Khan Bahadur of Lucknow. The Nawab seconding the proposal to elect Dadabhai Naoroji as President of 1886 said "We are not educated ... I have travelled 700 miles to this Congress to show you, on my behalf and on behalf of my co-religionists how real our interest, how deep our sympathy is with this great National Movement. Hindus, Muslims, Parsees, Sikhs, we are one people now, and our public interests are indivisible and identical. ... We Muslims think just all thinking Hindus do on these public questions, and believe me when I say that you ever find us side by side with you in every legal and constitutional endeavour to raise the political status of the people, of our common home and Country.[1]

Percentage of Muslim attendance:

1886	7·5
1887	11
1888	17
1889	13
1890	14
1892	14

By 1889 there was another Muslim group in the Congress which inclined towards Syed Ahmed and the United Patriotic Association. There was a

[1] Report and proceedings of the Second Indian National Congress, p 51.

split in the discussion over the minority clause of Resolution XI of 1889. This clause which provided for a proportional representation in the proposed Councils for minorities wherever they occurred, was accepted by the majority of Muslims present. But Munshi Hidayat Rasul introduced an amendment proposing that the number of Muslims in Councils should always be equal to the Hindus.[1] Syed Walud Ali Rizwi said 'I can hardly allow to it, the title of 'National'—it is much more of a Hindu than a National Congress. ... The support of the high class Muslims will lift the Congress to a dignity and quorum to which the Hindus had never had any pretensions since they were conquered by the Muslims and were thus so reduced, that they are now naturally unfit to execute higher duties and perform the greater works of the present day. If India is to be represented, let her be represented by her best and not by her inferior races. I call upon this Congress to rule that there shall always be three times as many Muhammodans as Hindu members.[2] In spite of such perfervid appeals to the communal Sentiment, an appeal to forget religious differences was

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[1] Report and Proceedings of the Fifth Indian National Congress, p 32.

"We look upon those delegates who have come here simply to enjoy themselves and to say 'aye' to everything proposed, as faithless and murderers of their brethren .... We have not joined the Congress Movement to sell our freedom of speech. We will support this Movement only so long as our National Honour is not injured."

[2] Report and Proceedings of the Fifth Indian National Congress, Resolution XI. p 33, 36.

made and to treat the National Congress as a secular body; not as one of religious groups but as one of patriotic Indians. Still, it was not easy for many delegates to forget that they were Muslims and that they were in a minority in the Congress. It was on the recommendation of two Muslim Congressmen of Madras, that the Madras Standing Congress Committee framed a Resolution which was afterwards adopted as Resolution No. XIII in 1888 declaring that if a subject was brought up in the Congress to which the Muslim or Hindu delegates objected as a body, it should be dropped. As many of the Muslims who attended the Congress were only small landowners, this Resolution was accepted to allay their suspicions, and to bring more of them into the movement.

Some of the Parsis too, were hostile to Congress aspirations, but, they were prevailed upon by Dadabhai Naoroji and Dinsha Edulji Wacha[1] and Pheroz Shah Mehta, to make common cause with the Congress. But the Muslims were suspicious of the new movement and this is clear from Budruddin Tyabji's statement in his Presidential Address to the Madras Congress of 1887: "I am at a loss to understand why Muhommadans should not work shoulder to shoulder with their fellow-countrymen of other races and other creeds for the common benefit of all. Religious Movements

[1] Masani: Dadabhai Naoroji, p. 301.

Report and Proceedings of the Fifth Indian National Congress. p. 2.

preceded political awakening, and preeminently of the birth of the Indian National Congress. Political opinion was influenced by religious prejudice. The educational revival of the Muslim community came before political awakening and religious prejudice was in the way of unity. Opposition came from the Bengal Central Mahomedan Association and the Muslim Literary Society of Calcutta and Muslims abstained from taking any part in the Calcutta Congress.[1] The Anjuman-i-Islamia of Madras appreciated this decision and declined to send delegates for two years. Sir Syed Ahmed was opposed to any close amalgamation with the Congress, and he preached that the Muslims should work out their own salvation as a community with the help of the British rulers. While Sir Syed Ahmed[2] explained at Lucknow, the attitude which the Muslim community ought to adopt with regard to the political movements, Rahamatullah Sayani appealed to the Muslims to the contrary to educate their children and actively cooperate in all the public movements of the country. At the inspiration of Budrudin Tyabji, the United Indian Patriotic Association[3] was founded in 1887, and its objects were to make it evident that the Muslims of India might join the Congress and support its policy and programme.[4] The Nizam of Hyderabad was its patron and Sir Salar Jung gave his support to it and fifty branches of the

[1] Report and Proceedings of the Second Indian National Congress, p. 9.

[2] W. S. Caine: Letters from India, Lucknow 1888, Letter No. V, December 16, 1888.

[3] The Present State of Politics, p 1.

[4] Letters from India, Letter No. V. 'Pioneer' 1888.

Association were established by December 1888. But the 'Pioneer' under Theodore Beck published Articles and Reports demanding the Congress to reveal its 'seditious character'. Succeeding Congresses commented on this opposition which was partly Muslim and partly official, while the educated Muslims remained definitely intransigent.[1] Sir Syed's suspicion of the 'babies' of the Congress is revealed in his denunciatory speech at Lucknow where he said "we do not live on fish; nor are we afraid of using a knife and fork lest we should cut our fingers. Our blood is the blood of those who made not only Arabia, but Asia and Europe to tremble. It is our Nation which conquered with its sword, the whole of India.[2] British rule was a matter of Divine Dispensation, for they were also 'People of the Book' and had many things in common with the Muslims." According to Sir Syed, India was clearly divided into two nations and it would be intolerable for the Muslims to be governed by the Hindus, as it would be for the English people to be governed by the Chinese.[3] The Congress was not 'National' and could be so only when the ultimate aims and objects of the people of which it was composed were identical. Syed Ahmed's speeches breathed suspicion and hatred of the intellectual domination of the edu-

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[1] Report and Proceedings of the Second Indian National Congress.

[2] Lucknow Speech of December 28, 1888. The Present State of Indian Politics.

[3] Letters from India, Letter No XI.

Pioneer, April 2, 1888. The Present State of Indian Politics. December 28, 1887.

cated Bengalis, while his own co-religionists remained relatively backward. Accordingly, he vehemently opposed competitive examinations and universal suffrage, as these were based on wealth or education and as Muslims were likely to be outnumbered in elections by either qualification; while conceding the importance of Indian representation in the Legislative Council, he ridiculed the idea of election, for, that would be advantageous to the Hindus and detrimental to Muslim interests.

Though Syed represented a small section of Muslim opinion, Leaders of the Congress, like Wacha and Dadabhai Naoroji apprehended disruption of Congress unity, for, behind an apparent loyalty to the Congress, most of the Muslim members of the Congress entertained a different opinion in private.[1] A section of the Muslims feared that Resolutions prejudicial to their interest would be passed in a Hindu dominated Assembly, and accordingly, desired a Resolution to be carried out in the Congress which would object to any measure disapproved by either of the communities.[2]

While the Congress was dominated by the Hindu Middle Classes, Muslim representation in the Congress was predominantly Aristocratic, for landed interest and high social status found themselves there, and the

[1] Masani: Dadabhai Naoroji, p 302.
Report and Proceedings of the Indian National Congress, p 10.

[2] Resolution XIII of 1888.

Muslim middle class opinion based on education had not yet developed. That there was no educated middle class representation is clear from the Table of Muslim delegates who attended in large numbers, the Congresses of 1889 and 1892:

	Bombay		Lucknow		Allahabad		Total
	1889	1892	1889	1892	1889	1892	
Wasifdars		10	10				11
Zamindars		52			32		33
Raises			10		10		
Landholders					3		
Merchants	38	68					1
Barristers							
Vakils		(1					
Editors	Negligible	(2					
Teachers		(1					
Total			254				73

There was a perceptible decline in representation partly owing to the limitation on numbers imposed by Resolution XIII of 1889. Furthermore, the Muslim representation was predominantly from the land-owning classes and there was an increase in its representation rising from 44% to 64% of the total number of delegates who attended the Congress during the years

[1] Report and Proceedings of the Indian National Congress, 1889, Appendix A.

[2] Report and proceedings of the Indian National Congress, 1892.

under review. The other occupational groups that were represented were Commerce and to a very small extent, Law. It was significant that while the profession of Law and Commerce found a predominant Hindu representation in the Congress, that these two professions should be almost conspicuously poorly represented by the Muslim Community. Either that the educated section was very small or that the educated Muslim class disdained making common cause with the Hindus in political aspirations. The Muslim representatives were drawn including a few Nawabs, purely from the landowning classes, and it appeared as though that most of the delegates attended the Congress more out of curiosity than out of any genuine sympathy with its political aspirations; and furthermore, the Muslim opinion outside the Congress did not consider the Muslim delegates to the Congress as representatives of their community, but regarded them as self-seekers who attended the Assembly actuated by considerations of personal aggrandisement. The few delegates who spoke on the amendments of the Minority Resolution XI of 1839 were voicing out the Muslim opinion outside, while the others were not decided as to the stand they had to take inside the Congress.[1] Those who attended the Congress were Shias mostly

[1] Report and Proceedings of the Fifth Indian National Congress, pp. 32, 35.

Muslim Herald, Dec. 29, 1887. Sir Syed Ahmed. Meerut Speech, March 14. 1888. The Present State of Politics.

Muslim Community of Calcutta was not represented in the Congress and was definitely hostile. ....

Muslim Herald, Jan. 4, 1888.

and that explained the large Muslim attendance at the Congresses of Lucknow and Allahabad where Shias predominate.

One of the manifestations of this anti-Congress Movement was the denunciation of Congress speakers who spoke of Unity and of the Congress as the only and truly representative organ of Indian Public Opinion. The Muslim Press and Muslim Speakers were united in 'the vindication of the honour of Islam against the insinuations of the Congress speakers', and Muslim Papers as Mahomedan Observer, Aligarh Institute Gazette, Rafee-q-in-Hind, and Muslim Herald, all published articles and correspondence condemning the Congress.[1] In spite of the indifferentism of the Muslims towards political agitation it must be recognised that the Congress was composed of many classes and creeds and had to confine itself to a discussion of questions in which the entire Nation could have a direct participation.[2] Sir William Wilson Hunter stated 'I believe this political movement in India is an indestructible part of that great awakening in India which is showing itself not only in the intellectual progress of the Indian people, but in many signs of a new national life.

The Congress political movement was only one aspect of a general advance, moral, intellectual and

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1 Syed Ahmed: The Present State of Politics, 'Pioneer' April, 1888.

2 Report and Proceedings of the Second Indian National Congress, p 54.

industrial that was going on. A political movement which was purely political might be wise or unwise, but a political movement which formed part of the general advance of a people to a higher state of society and to a nobler ideal of domestic and individual life was irresistible. It might be guided, it might be moderated, but it had assuredly to be reckoned with.[1] Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra stated in the Second Congress which met at Calcutta, 'We behold the commencement of coalescence of Indians to live as a nation. Nations are not made of sects but of tribes bound together in one political bond and therefore we constitute one nation.'[2]

The most important offices in the Congress Movement were held by the leaders of the different communities in India. During the first sixteen years of its existence, leaders of public opinion like Dr. Mitra, Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao, Pandit Ayodhyanath, Pherozeshah Mehta, Manomohan Ghose, C. Narayana Swami Naidu, Pandit Bishamvernath, Dayal Singh, P. Rangiah Naidu, S. B. Bhide, Rameschandra Mitra, Khaparde, N. Subba Rao, Bansilal Singh and Kali Prasanna Roy were the Chairmen of the Reception Committee; while A. O. Hume, Ayodhyanath and D E. Wacha as the popular Secretaries of the Congress ably assisted the Annual Presidents of such distinction as W. C. Bonnerji, Dadabhai Naoroji, Tyabji, Yule, Wedderburn, Pherozshah Mehta, Ananda Charlu, Alfred Webb, Surendranath Banerji, Muhammad Ra-

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1 Notable Utterances on the Congress Movement, Natesan, p 19.

2 Rajendra Lal Mitra: Second Congress, Calcutta, 1886.

himatullah, Sankara Nair, Mohan Bose, Romeschandra Dutt and N. G. Chandravarkar.

The Congress held its first sessions at Bomday with only 72 representatives, but their number rose to 412 in 1886 and to 607 in 1887 and 1889. In 1890, 677 delegates assembled at Calcutta, and 812 at Nagpur. In 1891, at Allahabad Session the number was 625, while it rose in 1893 when the Congress met at Lahore to 867 and in 1894 at Madras to 1200 delegates who assembled under the Presidency of Alfred Webb. Poona welcomed in 1895, 1584 delegates, but the number was reduced to 784 delegates when the Congress was held at Calcutta in 1896, and to 692 delegates when the Congress met at Amraoti, in 1897. The number of delegates who attended the Madras Session in 1898 was only 614 and this fall in strength was due to famine and plague which had exercised a depressing influence in the country. The Lucknow Session in 1899 attracted 740 delegates which included more than 300 Muslim delegates. The attendance at the Congress Session at Lahore fell to 567. There was a slow and persistent rise to 896 when the Congress met at Calcutta; there was a steep fall to 471 delegates when the Sessions was held at Ahmedabad in 1902 and of this number no less than 287 came from the Ahmedabad Division alone. Bombay in 1904 witnessed a gathering of 1010 delegates.[1]

Eardley Norton: The Indian National Congress, 1897.

G. A Natesan: Indian Politics.

[1] Annie Besant: How India Wrought her Freedom, p. 291, 311, 323, 352. 374, 393.

An analysis of the composition of the delegates who attended the Congress Sessions at the closing years of the century, reveals, that as in the early Sessions of the Congress, the legal profession was preponderatingly represented, to be seconded only by the landlords and the merchants. Between 1898 and 1904, excluding teachers, editors, doctors and those classified as miscellaneous including clerks, servants and others who had not given designation of occupations, the representation of the three important middle classes was as follows :

	Landholders	Vakils	Merchants[1]
1898	74	211	90
1899	237	193	114
1900	30	264	158
1901	254	332	85
1202	21	149	160
1903	101	292	71
1904	129	390	282

On a rough estimate, during a period of fifteen years, something like 11,500 men at their own expense travelled long distances from stations so remote as Dera Ismail Khan to meet and discuss serious and pressing questions of political and social reform.

[1] These figures are worked out from the Statistics of delegates noted in the Appendices to the Reports and Proceedings of the Indian National Congress : 1898-1904 ; 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th and 20th Reports.

The problems for discussion were as diverse as the delegates themselves who were of all colours, castes and religions garbed in variegated dresses and quaint head-gear of the various nationalities of India. Norton stated in 1897 'No one who has sat through a Congress but must have been struck with the orderliness of its proceedings, the instant obedience to the Chair, the remarkable gifts of speech rising in many instances to genuine and powerful eloquence, and occasionally a readiness of debate nor unworthy of the best traditions of the front bench of the House of Commons.'

The delegates maintained an attitude of dignity and self-respect, and stood silent while the Press and Anglo-Indian opinion decried their leaders as disappointed lawyers, a criticism singularly inappropriate when one contemplates leaders of that period like Budruddin Tyabji, Justice Ranade, Subrahmanya Iyer, Justice Telang, Romesh Chandra Dutt, Justice Amir Ali, Bonnerji, Manomohan Ghosh and others. Their utterances in the Sessions of the Congress, retold at the risk of much hostile and dangerous official and communal criticism, as expositions of what educated India thought of Indian problems and of the Government, were instructive, and of the greatest value to their contemporaries as well as to the British Government itself.

Of the many catalogued demands[1] of the National Congress, a few important ones are mentioned here.

[1] Appendix on Resolutions passed at Congress from 1885 to 1904.

These were the Arms Act, a mixed Commission to inquire into the industrial condition of the country, working of the Indian Administration, expansion of Legislative Councils, demand for trial by Sessions Courts, Education in all its branches, simultaneous examination for Civil Services, exchange compensation, improvement of the system of excise and Abkari, Separation of Executive and Judicial functions, Military expenditure, extension of the system of Jury Trial, and finality of Jury verdict, Permanent Settlement of Land Revenue, Reform of Police Administration, remedies for mitigating poverty of India, Representation in education, medical and particularly Military Services, System of Volunteering, modified fixity of tenure in services, taxable minimum on Income Tax and taxes on salt and other subjects. There were some Resolutions which were disloyal, and some with which official opinion was in disagreement. The rest of the Resolutions were based on the fundamental belief of a preordained and pre-established harmony of relationships between the British Rulers and the Indian Ruled.

It was one of the significant tenets of the Liberal Creed, that the British Government in India was to be the Congress National Government, and the English language the *sine qua non* of national unity and solidarity.[1] Life, intellectual, social and even religious to the Indian Liberal was inconceivable without contact with the West which gave illumination and guidance

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[1] Pattabhi Sitaramiah : History of the National Congress, p 169.

Surendranath Banerji : Speeches and Writings, p 94.95.

in all matters temporal and spiritual. Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao stated in the Madras Congress in 1887 'to well-balanced minds such a gathering must appear the soundest triumph of British administration and a crown of glory to the British Nation '.[1]

It was the conviction of many of the delegates that the existence of the Congress and the meetings that were held annually were the best proofs of the British Government, for a foreign country, which it had pleased Providence to place India under its charge had given the same constitutional freedom of speech that was allowed in the mother country itself. Pundit Bishanver Nath declared in his Address at Allahabad 1892 'This Movement serves as the best living testimony of the blessing of liberty which we happily enjoy in Pax Britannica '.[2]

There was a full acknowledgment of the inestimable blessings conferred upon the Indians by the Government. The realisation of these blessings rested upon a mission imposed by duty, sanctified by patriotism and guided by loyalty. In the words of Narayanaswami Naidu 'Loyalty to the British Crown, love of the British people to whose advent here India owes its rebirth, a thorough and ungrudging appreciation of the excellence of the intentions of our Government in India, and a fixed desire and firm resolve to bring about, by loyal and constitutional means such admini-

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[1] Report and Proceedings of the Third Indian National Congress, 1887.

[2] Report and Proceedings of the Eighth Indian National Congress, 1892.

strative reforms as shall permit of these good intentions bearing still better fruit for India's people than they have hitherto yielded. – These are the keynotes of this great and sacred Movement '.[1] The patriotism of the Indian Liberal was born out of loyalty; and the attitude of cautious advance along legal and constitutional lines was based partly on gratitude for concessions conferred by the government and partly on the fear that any violent or unreasonable demand or exhibition of temper by word or action would destroy the foundations of the new phenomenon delicately manœuvred by the British and Indian leaders of political thought.

The elements that constituted a common united nation as a common political citizenship, a common loyalty to the Queen-Empress, a community of interests, a common language and literature which bound the Indians morally and spiritually together and connected them with the wider world outside, were being slowly built up by genuine goodwill and brotherly feeling; and it was the anxiety of the Congress Liberals that by moderation, businesslike character of deliberations and by mutual toleration of each others' feelings and prejudices, to justify in act and word, the hopes and aspirations of those who in the distant future would seek to realse the dream of a limited and federated India.' [2]

[1] Report and Proceedings of the Seventh National Congress, Nagpur 1891, Welcome Address.

[2] Report and Proceedings of the Eleventh National Congress, Poona 1895; V. M. Bhide's Address.

Dadabhai Naoroji: Congress Presidential Address, 1886.

A strong sense of the exigencies of the political situation coupled with a grave anxiety and an unshakable resolve to raise the social and political status of the country and thus ameliorate the condition of the Indian masses through British concessions, the spirit of compromise as a cardinal political precaution, and an enthusiastic attachment to British Sovereignty, were the tenets of the Liberal creed. One of the axioms and postulates of Indian political geometry was that British power should continue to be supreme in India, and a simultaneous reform of the administration and change in the system of government were to be accomplished on the foundation-stone of loyalty to the Crown.

Balen Bansilal Singh, Kali Prasanna Roy, Ambalal Desai, Nawab Sayyid Mahomed, Pherozsha Mehta, Surendranath Banerji, Munshi Madhava Lal, Tribhuvan Das Malvi and a host of other leading Congressites echoed this sentiment. Banerji said in 1895, " Loyalty to the British Government is the dominant sentiment of every congressman. Ours is a loyalty based on an intelligent appreciation of our own vital and permanent interests. It is a reasoned sentiment and not a mere blind attachment. The great mass of the British people are very ignorant about India and Indian matters, and the average member of Parliament does not concern himself about us. We have therefore to educate the English elector and bring him to see and acknowledge the justice and expediency of our demands. The Congress since its inception has attempted at the realisation of its objects by soliciting concessions from the government, and work strenuously in faith, hope and charity to perfect its

organisation and by firmly approaching its rulers for the conferment of the great good that it was always in their power to confer." [1]

Sirdar Dayal Singh in the Lahore Congress which met in 1893, stated in his Address 'Let us trust that our Rulers will not misunderstand our utterances, nor misjudge our actions, but will be considerate and charitable towards us. Give us our just right, concede our reasonable demands, govern us on principles of equity and good conscience and strengthen the foundation of the Empire by broad basing it upon the peoples' Will.'

That a stable, strong and a permanent Imperial State could not be made without goodwill and the consent of the ruled and without a thorough and cordial sympathy for all rational demands of the great populations of India, was the keynote of Gladstonian liberalism and was shared by some of the most eminent statesmen of the Age. It was the opinion of Gladstone in 1890 that the National movement in India which had taken a purely constitutional and loyal direction and which expressed through the Congress the legitimate hopes and requirements of the people, was worthy of being associated by any thinking individual. There was a similar acknowledgment of the laudable objects of the Congress by Justice Ma Carthy, Charles Dilke, Randolph Churchill, Alfred Deakin, Lord Cromer, Charles Bradlaugh and others.

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[1] Surendranath Banerji : Congress Presidential Address, 1895.

The Congress had the courage and patriotism even in the early phases of the Movement to denounce abuses which had disgraced British rule in India, and which had been condemned by Indian public opinion. They dared to propose reforms which despite the resistance of the government had been approved by the Parliament whose members recognised that the public service had to be brought into closer sympathy with the masses who had a right to be heard in public affairs; that the judiciary and the executive required to be severed, that the offensiveness of bureaucracy had to be checked and the support of the native people enlisted on the British side. Sir Richard Garth, wrote in the Statesman in 1895, "We want no secret societies, no nihilists or socialists either here or in India; and I firmly believe that if the Congress or any other similar institution had existed in India in the year 1857, we should never have experienced the horrors of the Indian Mutiny. There was an open acknowledgment of the change that had come over India; new aspirations had been called forth; the power of public opinion was growing daily; to move too fast was dangerous, but to lag behind was more dangerous still."

The problem was how to deal with this new born spirit of progress so as to direct it into a right course, and to derive from it all the benefits which its development was capable of ultimately conferring upon the country; and at the same time to prevent it from becoming through blind indifference or irrational repression, a source of serious political danger.

The attitude of a section of the British people was one of sympathy to the Indian political aspirations. The Congress was to harness this sympathy for the common good by loyalty to the Crown and by expression with passionate earnestness and gratitude of the benefits that British rule had conferred on India. Justice Tyabjee had once said to the Congress "Be moderate in your demands, be just in your criticism, be accurate in your facts, be logical in your conclusions, and you may rest assured that any propositions you may make to our Ruler will be received with that benign consideration which is characteristic of a strong and enlightened government."

The Congress Liberals stuck to this creed, and though a section of the Indians taunted the Liberals, as followers of a mendicant policy, and condemned constitutional agitation which was only the exercise of the subjects' right of petitioning the Sovereign, the Liberals persuaded the government to make great concessions to Indians in the administration of the country. The end of the Century witnessed though in a small measure, —Increased employment of Indians in the higher ranks of the public service, the Reforms in the Legislative Councils, the experiments for the separation of the Judicial from the Executive service, the reduction of the duty on salt and the raising of the minimum of taxable incomes. These were the measures introduced in response to Congress opinion.

The Congress during the first twenty-five years of its existence was mainly concerned with the exercise of the right of petitioning the government for redress of

grievances and for the acquisition of fresh rights and privileges. The petitions were for a reorganised Legislative Council, for the separation of the Judicial from the Executive function, for the creation of an Indian Military College and for the employment of Indians in Military Services, for a stricter economy of Indian finances, and for a simultaneous examination for the Civil Service.

The method of achievement of the objects of the Congress was by constitutional agitation and without resort to crime, violence or incitement to rebellion and complicity with foreign powers. Trained in habits of self-control and disciplined in action, as the leaders were, they could maintain the equanimity of solitude amidst outbreaks and the worst governmental provocation, transcending differences of race and religion and working themselves up into a sentiment of transient solidarity of national opinion which was unique in the annals of parliamentary history of any country.

Different communities had to be united by compromise and conciliation for the achievement of concerted opinions. Unanimous decisions on important issues had to be taken before placing them before the country, as national demands. A common national consciousness educated to a sense of discrimination between National and personal problems and to a recognition of the need of accomplishment of aims with firmness of purpose and determination had to be fostered. The period revealed abundance of frank and outspoken criticism of the government and the critics

of the Indian National Congress described it as a safety valve or as a barometer of the people's hopes and fears and of their wishes and wants, or as 'an embodiment of seasoned and cultured sedition'.

But, the Congress criticism of the government was the direct result of English teaching, and governmental action was appraised only by those who had partaken of English education; many civilians and educationists had thus the astuteness to recognise the value of British policy in India and preferred unconcealed manifestations of the growth of Indian thought in the Congress annual meetings to the sullen and dangerous reticence of an inaudible discontent. The purpose of the Congress was not to outvote but to instruct authority, and Lord Lansdowne described the Congress as the equivalent of the 'Forward Liberal Party'.

With the passage of years, educated bodies of men steadily increased in numbers and in attainments. These coteries of University men numerically and intellectually formidable became the devoted adherents of the Congress and helped its growth and exhibited their sympathy by donations; for while they appreciated its motives and sympathised with its aims and and approved of its methods they could not because of the conditions of official life, make any overt manifestation of their own views. Accordingly, the vitality of the Congress movement was assured by the mass of the silent but educated support which the intellectual but official classes gave unremittingly althrough the vicissitudes of its history.

Another reason for this support was that the Congress comprised educationally, the pick and flower of all the trades and professions in India. These were not paid agitators, but men of much legislative and administrative capacity deeply interested in instructing authority by their learning and enthusiasm. Eardly Norton says that the Council's Act of 1892 was the outcome of eight years of unflagging toil—and "hostile critics of the Congress are unaware of the concentration, deliberation and close scrutiny to which all schemes and questions are submitted in private before they are committed to the various speakers on the public platform of the full session of the National Congress." [1]

The Congress was thus unimpeachable in its objects, organisation, methods and procedure. The people and the government knew the leaders of the Congress, for each one of them in his own way was a distinguished man and a living and powerful centre of influence in his own country. The leaders made reasonable demands very candidly and in the most constitutional manner, and so, to libel men such as these was to create unnecessary friction and bitterness. Besides, to take shelter behind a palpable untruth was a hazardous expedient, for it not merely robbed opposition of all real value, but engendered a belief that opposition was based purely on racial prejudice which was most dangerous to the best interests of England and India.

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[1] Eardley Norton: The Indian National Congress, Indian Politics 1898.

The task of organising and educating Indian Public opinion as to its political status and economic needs was not easy, for the country was steeped in ignorance and apathy and a resuscitation of the impulse to a vigorous moral living, required the energising the whole mass of slumbering Indian humanity. The liberation of intellect, the elevation of the standard of duty, and the renovation, purification and perfection of the character of the Indian were all a slow process, which had to be realised before political emancipation could be accomplished.

The struggle with a mighty power had to be slow, and the struggle had to be carried on, not by resort to force or violence but by an appeal to the Englishman's imponderables of sentiment and persuading him to an acknowledgment of India's just needs and aspirations. The liberal policy was to be non-violent and moral, devoted to the conversion of the Government to make the necessary concessions in order to help the Indian in his journey to self-government.

Constitutional Reforms :

The key note of the Congress demand was political reform and this demand involved a plan for the reform and expansion of the Legislative Councils,—Provincial and Central. The Reform of the Councils was declared in the beginning of the Movement as essential to a life of liberty, and the demand that the question of the Council reconstitution should be placed in the forefront of topics to be discussed by the National Congress met with unanimous approval of the delegates. "We ask

for representation in the Legislative Councils of India. ... We have now sufficiently advanced to know that the value of representation must go with taxation, and that the taxed have a voice in the taxation that is imposed upon them ;" [1] and that on the Reform of the Councils rests the solution of all other problems.

A tentative electoral scheme was put forward in 1886 and was furthered in 1889. The Resolution IV of 1886 suggested that not less than 50 per cent of the members should be elected ; that not more than 25 per cent should be officials having seats ex-officio and that not more than 25 per cent were to be government nominees whether official or non-official. Clause 2 put forward a scheme for the election of the 50 per cent of elected members, and Telang stated that 'the subject of Council Reform is one which has been frequently discussed by our countrymen, and there is a general consensus of opinion among us ... that the suggested reforms are reasonable, thoroughly practicable and not in the least revolutionary'.[2] Resolution III of 1885 asked for the reform and expansion of the Councils, the admission of elected members, the creation of similar Councils for N. W. Provinces and Oudh, and for the reference of all budgets to these Councils for consideration.

The problem of the expansion of Legislative Councils was of paramount importance till the close of

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[1] Report and Proceedings of the First Indian National Congress, 1885. Speech on Resolution III.

[2] Report and Resolutions of the First Congress, p 25.

the Eighth Indian National Congress. The third Resolution of the Second Congress emphatically reaffirmed the third Resolution of the Congress of 1885, that the expansion of the Councils was essential in the interests of England and India. Resolutions 2 of 1888, 2 of 1890, 2 of 1891 and 1 of 1892 and 3 of 1897 were all for the reaffirmation of the necessity of the expansion and reform of the Legislative Councils at the Centre and in the Provinces.

An examination of this important subject demands brief reference to the nature of constitutional development in India in the 19th century, which was in the direction of democracy. A vigorous and formidable Nationalist Movement created the necessary demands which were in the direction of parliamentary institutions. The nineteenth century English Liberalism was steadily implanting in the educated classes of India, the somewhat naive assumption of the inevitability of parliamentary institutions. Ripon's experiments in local self government and the irritation over the Ilbert Bill led to the steady consolidation of the forces of nationalism. The desire for parliamentary institutions could not be controverted, however inconvenient its manifestations were, as the English themselves were the parents of parliamentary tradition. On the other hand, in India, Lord Dufferin and his Government proposed that the non-official element in the Councils should be chosen by the principle of election.

Opposed to this development was the tenaciously held theory of the responsibility of the Indian Legis-

latures to Parliament. Though the consequence of the event of 1857 was the tendency to associate representatives of Indian opinion with the legislative functions of government, it was a fundamental fact that the Councils were merely the legislative committees of the various governments and were not in any sense embryo representative institutions, for, the legislature in India like the executive authority of the Indian government was derived not from the people of the country, but from the grant of Parliament; and in the exercise of that authority therefore, the Indian administrators were responsible to Parliament and to Parliament alone. The legislators had no constituencies behind them and no popular sentiment to lend authority to their arguments.

With the introduction of the elective principle into the legislatures and with the changes in their procedure and the introduction of the right of interpellation and of criticism of the budget, there was bound to be a decisive transformation of British administrative policy in India. The underlying problem of the Age was how to reconcile the nationalist claims that the executive should be responsible to the legislature with the hard constitutional fact that the source of the legislative authority was British. Rushbrook Williams says, 'In theory the legislatures were still specialised organs of the executive government. In theory the responsibility of every branch of the government was wholly to the British Parliament and it was easy to secure the acquiescence of the people by confining the Indian element to the aristocracy and to the intelligentia.

If this policy had been adopted and been accompanied by its logical corollary, viz., the increasing Indianization of the administrative services, India might have been today in the same constitutional position as the Dutch East Indies. Had this occurred, the interests of the intellectual and the administrative classes would have been diverted from the acquisition of parliamentary institutions and would have been increasingly identified with those of the bureaucratic machine.' [1]

When once the elective principle had been introduced into the legislatures, the slow transformation of these organs into democratic Assemblies was inevitable. There were large sections of the Indian peoples, as the landed gentry, Mussalmans, Parsis and Christians who felt that concessions to agitators would be a mere stepping stone to larger demands, and that the English should govern the people through their chosen and natural leaders who were 'not orators and seditious editors' but the territorial aristocracy and landed gentry.[2]

The representative form of government for which the Congress agitated required the fulfilment of three conditions; in the words of Mill 'the people should be willing to receive it; they should be willing and able to do what is necessary for its preservation; they should be willing and able to fulfil the duties

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[1] Rushbrook Williams: A Century of Constitutional Development, Times of India Centenary, p 25.

[2] Calcutta Review, January 1887.

and discharge the functions which it imposes on them'. But, it was considered by the critics of the Congress that politics was an unintelligible term to most people and that there were four insurmountable obstacles to the success of representative institutions in India: the ignorance af the peasantry, the absence of a class from which to select capable statesmen and legislators, the inability of a Parliament to control the army, and the mixture of nationalities.[1] The validity of the origin of the Congress was challenged, as it did not originate in any general movement or popular aspiration, but in a handful of petty Associations and in meetings organised by them; as it did not represent more than ten per cent of the population, as its representation had absolutely no relation to the population, as agricultural classes were not represented by the Congress, as the bulk of the Mahomedan community stood aloof from the movement, and as the influential leaders of the Hindu community expressed strong disapproval of the objects and methods of the Congress.'[2]

This criticism from the representatives of the Muslim classes and the landed gentry was supported by the Anglo-Indian press and the bureaucracy. But the leaders of the Congress were convinced that representative institutions for India were of paramount importance, as they were the best practical school for

[1] Beck: Letters to the Pioneer, Nov. 1887.
Singh: Democracy not suited to India, August 1888.

[2] London Spectator, 26th May 1888.
Oday Pertab Singh: Democracy not suited to India, p 36.

mental and moral discipline, and in the unfolding of all the speculative and practical faculties of a Nation.[1]

In the Fourth Congress, Ramaswami Mudaliar drew pointed attention to the existence in Pondicherry of a fully developed representative institution with manhoood suffrage, while the Indian Government was reluctant to allow the Indians the smallest modicum of representative institutions and the elective principle essential to that political training which every stable government would desire to see possessed by its subjects.[2] Pandit Ayodhyanath in seconding Eardley Norton's Resolution II pleaded for the revision of the Councils on the ground that the chief plank of the Congress platform is the elective principle, and stated " we are not going to be satisfied with a thing that will be a snare, a mockery and a delusion ... What we want is not sham, but reality; not shadow, but substance; not nomination, which is another name for deception, but representation which is the essence of political reform." [3] Dhar spoke against separate electorates in the Sixth Congress, and Madan Mohan Malaviya quoted Gladstone to the effect that now 'the man would be deemed mad who should denounce the system of popular representation '.[4]

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[1] Surendranath Banerji: Resolution IV, The Second Congress, Resolution II. The Third National Congress, Pandit Bishen Narayan Dhar, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.

[2] Fourth Congress 1888. Resolution I.

[3] Report and Proceedings of the Fifth National Congress, Resolution II, Pandit Ayodhyanath.

[4] Do. Do. Resolution I.

The Seventh Congress in its Resolution II re-affirmed the conclusion arrived at by all previous Congresses, viz., that India can never be well or justly governed, nor her people made prosperous or contented until they are allowed through their elected representatives a potential voice in the legislatures of their own country; and that Britain should permit no further delay in the concession of this just and necessary reform. The resolutions of the Congress at the close of the century aimed at the expansion of Councils in the different provinces and at the provision of the same kind of representation provided for in Bengal, Madras and Bombay.

Along with the concession of the principle of election, a limited right of interpellation was granted, and the local budget was submitted for criticism. Official opposition to the demand for some real control over the finances was severe, and the Congressites who had been taught that there shall be no taxation without representation, criticised lavish expenditure without consent, upon the pleasurable gratification of the governors and the bureaucracy, and evinced great anxiety for the diversion of expenditure to a starving Municipality, to an extension of sanitary schemes, to the increase of hospitals and schools, to the endowment of scientific laboratories and to kindred utilitarian improvements.

The criticism of the governmental policy was found to be severe as it was reactionary and often retrograde, and this was a marked phenomenon in the last years of the century and the beginning of the twentieth.

Romesh Chander Dutt says 'looking back to the history of the past forty years, one notices that whenever the Liberals had been in power for a long period, India enjoyed peace and good government. The foundations of local self-government were laid, and district and local boards were created. Members were elected and were entrusted with the management of local boards and Municipalities; and whenever the Tories had been in power for a long time, India had drifted into a foolish and unjust annexation, into sinful and disastrous wars.' [1]

The Liberals were in power between 1858 to 1874 and between 1880 to 1885, while the Tories were in power between 1874 to 1880 and between 1885 to 1904. Lord Canning, Lord Lawrence, Lord Mayo, and Lord Northbrook and again Lord Ripon were progressive Viceroys, while Dufferin, Lansdowne and Elgin were reactionary ones whose Viceroyalty was marked by famine, plague, needless and iniquitous wars and wasteful expenditure. The period of Tory domination was characterised by fresh legislative enactments which gagged the freedom of the press by a new Sedition Law and the Calcutta Municipal Bill which betrayed themselves in measures of coercion and repression. A disastrous famine policy, currency policy and an administrative policy based on the combination of executive and judicial functions, only aggravated the situation.

Accordingly, the attention of the Congress was directed to the administrative, health, legal, educational

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[1] Speeches and Papers on Indian Question, p 31.

and economic reform. It had become apparent to all Congressites that a bureaucratic administration conducted by an imported agency and centering all power in its hands and undertaking all responsibility had acted as a dead weight on 'the Soul of India'. British rules and regulations had wrecked the Reform Scheme as originally conceived, and the responsibility for this act rested on the shoulders of the bureaucracy. Seditious Meetings Bill and Press Regulations had tended to paralyse healthy and useful political activity. Coercion had become the evil instrument of government, and secret crime invariably dogged the footsteps of coercion, while terrorism had no recognised place in the movement of Indian society the whole trend in its history being in the direction of orderly and peaceful progress. Surendranath Banerji stated that 'popular representatives are bound to be in the bad books of the bureaucracy. The high character, the eminent services, the confidence and love of their countrymen will not suffice to protect them in times of excitement. The Civil Service system had developed a very close and zealously guarded doctrine of vested interests, and no large proposal could be carried into effect without the *imprimatur* of the premier service'.

The administration of the judiciary was equally oppressive. The Indian was judged without evidence and condemned without trial. There was the supreme abrogation of civil law which authorised arrest and imprisonment without trial. Banerji stated, 'There have been frequent house searches—a proceeding most abhorrent to the Indian mind. If an Englishman's

house is his castle, a Hindu's home is his temple, for it is consecrated by the presence of household Gods.'

Education too was neglected, and poverty stalked the country placing its icy finger here and there and taking a heavy toll of humanity. John Bright has said, 'if a country is found possessing a most fertile soil, and capable of bearing every variety of production, and that notwithstanding, the people are in a state of extreme destitution, the chances are that there is some fundamental error in the Government of that country'. Mr. Hume had in a rather plain-spoken letter drawn the attention of the Government to this grave danger. The Indian National Congress in 1891 in Resolution III had laid emphasis on the great and growing poverty of the masses.[1] The destruction of cottage industries, loss of employment by Indians, the employment of Europeans, the Annual drain, the heavy tribute to England, the growth of civil and military expenditure, the harshness of Revenue Settlements and the absence of a Permanent Settlement, had all cumulatively brought about poverty and change in the economic condition of India; and the gravity of the evil consisted in the fact that the causes of poverty were all preventable causes.

[1] Report and Proceedings of the Seventh Congress.

Lala Murlidhar: In 12 years 12 million people have died. Poverty has brought forth a brood with wretchedness, misery, degradation, famine, pestilence and crime.

Malaviya: 'It is the man who is being flogged who cries out, not the mere bystanders.'

One other great problem which was vital to the health of the nation was a sound Public Health Policy. The Government had founded hospitals and had in an imperfect and half-hearted way organised the research in and study of epidemicalogical diseases, in response to the enormous changes that had then taken place as a result of the reaction of newly risen Sciences of Surgery and Bacteriology. But the evolutionary trend of the Science of Medicine was all in the direction of prevention, and a large and progressive organisation for medical relief was essential.

The role of prevention was coming more and more to dominate the activities of all State services. It was generally conceded that medical relief and public health would develop more freely in an atmosphere of local autonomy as in England, and the most important departments were left to local and provincial governments for organisation and improvement. The Laissez Faire policy, and the apathy of the Centre as regards the importance of legislation and education of public opinion did come in for a lot of criticism in the Press and on the platform.

The question of health was intimately linked with the problem of native education and with an endeavour to substitute for a purely literary education, a type which while conserving all the healthy elements in social life, would also assist social growth and evolution on all national lines. While the attitude of the Government was that the ordinary individual could not be controlled in his habits and personal health by legislative enactments,

the Congress Liberals insisted on an enlightened provincial and central health policy which would co-ordinate relief with prevention, and public health with research aspects of medical relief. Ignorance, superstition, conservatism, apathy, communal tension and absence of a spirit of social service, an entire absence of public opinion and of public health conscience, lack of appreciation of environmental sanitation, of the fundamentals of cleanliness and low economic and social standards of life—were serious difficulties in the way of public health policy and of health efficiency.

Though it was fundamental that the people had to be educated up to a level of appreciation of the objects of Public Health policy, it was imperative that the Government by legislation had to control selfish actions which would be detrimental to the health of the community; and sanitary legislation had to be carried out greatly in advance of popular opinion and very often directly opposed to old rooted prejudices and customs.

The great value of permissive legislation was that it would pave the way for more stringent and effective laws. Legislation and education of public opinion were necessary as regards use of water, of soil, of the influence of soil on health; as regards house planning, streets, schools, markets, slaughter-houses, cattleyards, dhobhee-khanas, Restaurants, and removal and disposal of refuse. Education of the public assisted by legislative pressure was necessary as regards offensive trades and industries connected with food supplies, cereals,

oils, vegetables, fats, beverages, and as regards adulteration of food, and of food poisoning. Education was vital as regards insects and communicable diseases, and the protection of the individual by disinfection, inoculation, isolation of the sick, quarantine and compulsory notification. Likewise, a survey of animal diseases and researches in animal pathology were necessary and an investigation had to be carried on upon the susceptibility of Indian cattle to certain diseases, upon the relation of economic conditions to the amelioration of the conditions of livestock, and upon the relation of the ethical sentiments of the stockowners with veterinary innovations.

There were a series of Resolutions, in the Congress on the urgency of a more rational public health policy, on the Arms Act, on the permanent settlement of land revenue, and on services examinations and on the separation of the powers of Government. The question of Revenue Settlement bulked largely in the proceedings of the Congress, for it was paradoxical that India should be rich potentially, but her people should remain poor actually, and prospectively poorer even to the depths of destitution. The fourth, sixth and succeeding Congresses resolved that the policy of government was iniquitous and that in the interests of the country, it was absolutely necessary that the Land Revenue in provinces should be permanently settled.[1]

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[1] Report and Proceedings of the Fourth Congress.
R. N. Mudholkar in the Sixth Congress.
John Adam's Resolution. —Amraoti Congress, 1897.

The policy of the Government was a short sighted one and was doomed to end in national bankruptcy. The Congress in all its Sessions till the end of the century had not failed in its duty in prophesying the inevitable result and directing India's rulers into a super path, illuminated by the wisdom and uprightness of the great men of the country, so that the land question could be placed permanently on a basis financially sound and socially elevating.

The Liberals likewise exerted greatly to safegaurd the legal rights of individuals and to ensure for them an impartial administration of justice. From the speeches made on the Congress platform during the end of the century, one can visualise the extent of agitation that the leaders had carried on in favour of civil liberties, and the right to liberty as freedom of the body and freedom of movement, and to protection against slavery, involuntary servitude and imprisonment for debt, against discrimination on account of colour or race and against special or hereditary privileges.[1]

The Congress agitated for the right to bear arms, and demanded of the Government to abolish the Arms Act of 1878 which had forbidden the use of arms and thus had imposed practical hardships on the farmers and ryots. It was curious that Indians who were permitted to carry arms even after the Sepoy Rebellion should have been forbidden the use of arms ; and this indignity

[1] Report and Proceedings of the Third Congress : Resolution 8 ; Sabhapathi Mudaliar and Bipin Chandra Pal.

roused the Congress to inflamatory excitement which found vent in every Congress meeting, demanding the withdrawal of the Act.[1] The consequence of ceaseless agitation was the gradual admission of Indians to Military Service and to Military Colleges for a military career.

The Congress likewise, pleaded for the right to law that justice shall be free, that the accused shall have the right to the common law and shall hear the accusation and shall ask for bail which shall not be excessive; that trial shall be on indictment after investigation by a jury, and that witnesses shall be protected in their rights. There shall be a trial by Jury of the locality, defined as to size and the need for unanimity.[2] It was in 1774 in the reign of George III that Trial by Jury was first introduced into India. In 1852 a Bill was introduced in the Council of India to give to every man the right of being lawfully tried by the judgment of his Peers, but it did not become law. The Bill was passed as Act XXV of 1861 which enjoined on the provincial governments to take immediate measures for the proper introduction of trial by jury in the different provinces. But, because of ignorance, timidity, religious and social prejudices and want of culture of the ordinary

[1] Report and Proceedings of the Congress 1887—1901 The Resolutions were: 8, 6, 6, 2, 4, 5, 3, 16, 22, 11, 4, 20, 14,10 and 19.

[2] Report and Proceedings of the Second Congress and from Fifth to Twelfth congress; The Resolutions were; 10, 3, 2, 7, 5, 3, 16, 22, 11.

Indian, the people were wrongly deluded with the enjoyment of a privilege which in reality was denied to them; for the language in which the trials were conducted was foreign, and very often the jury was packed up of partisans of Government, particularly in times of political agitation and racial disturbances. Besides, there was degrading scandal about the failure of the British sense of justice when European subjects were on trial. In the Second Congress, the Resolution IX read that "in the opinion of the Congress the innovation made in 1872 in the system of trial by jury depriving the verdicts of juries of all finality, has proved injurious to the country, and that the powers then, for the first time, vested in Session Judges and in the High Courts of setting aside verdicts of acquittal should be at once withdrawn". The subjects of the extension of the system of Jury Trials, and the finality of jury verdict were discussed in every Congress Session and Resolutions were passed demanding fair consideration of the question.[1]

The Indian Penal Code likewise, with its elaboration of the definition of crimes and its scale of punishments, caused very severe criticism at the hands of the Congressites and Statesmen of the order of Dewan Rangacharlu of Mysore, who observed that the Code placed the peaceful citizen equally with the professional dacoit, perpetually under the tender

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1 Report and Proceedings of the Congress 1886—1901 Extension of Jury Trial: Resolutions 4, 3, 2, 7, 6, 11, 5, 7, 4, 20, 14, 10.

Finality of Jury verdict: 3, 2, 7, 16, 16, 5, 7, 4, 20, 10, 19.

mercies of not an immaculate official hierarchy. ... He stated that when there is such unlimited latitude of punishment it was vain to expect that it would be properly exercised. The Congress liberal was convinced that protection against unjust punishment could be given only when no excessive fines were levied, when no *ex post facto* law was allowed to pass, and when provision was usually made for pardon.

Closely associated with this fundamental right of the Indian was the Congress cry for the separation of the Executive from the Judiciary function. It was iniquity that there should be the combination of the policeman and the judge, of the detective and the magistrate in the same person. The resolutions in the several Congresses demanded the separation of the Executive from Judicial functions.[1] Having regard to the unsatisfactory character of the judicial and police administration, the Congress in its Seventh session concurred with its predecessors in strongly advocating the complete separation of executive and judicial functions, the extension of the system of trial by Jury, the withdrawal from High Courts of the powers of setting aside verdicts of acquittals by Juries; the introduction into the Code of Criminal Procedure of a provision enabling accused persons, in warrant cases to demand that instead of being tried by the Magistrate

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[1] Report and Proceedings of the Congress 1885—1901 The Resolutions 4, 3, 3, 3, 2, 7, 3, 6, 12, 4, 3, 8, 10, 1, 4, 4, 11 13, of the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth .... sixteenth Congress.

they may be committed to the Court of Session and lastly, the fundamental reform of the Police administration.[1]

These demands were reiterated in the successive Congress Sessions that followed the Seventh Session. The administration was virtually responsible to none and the Government of India, as Romesh Dutt wrote in 1898, was 'a benevolent despotism; the inhabitants of India had no control over its actions; the only power which occasionally controlled the Government of India was the British Parliament, a body which was subject to all the humours and inconsistencies of the electorate of Britain.[2] The Government of India had repeatedly acknowledged that the separation of the executive from the judicial function was a measure which theoretically met with their cordial approval, and they had pleaded poverty for not translating their approval into action. But educated India had contended that there would be more than ample funds available for a reform which was demanded by every dictate of justice if it were itself permitted to exercise any controlling voice over taxation.

The Liberal tradition of the Congress sought an inquiry into the true causes of the feeling of unrest which was due to an unwise and ungenerous policy that excluded Indians from all real control over the

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[1] Report and Proceedings of the Seventh Congress: Resolution 7.

[2] Romesh C. Dutt: India's Aspirations under British Rule. England and India, Chatto and Windus, 1897.

administration and made them hostile critics instead of loyal partakers in the work of Government. The interests and rights of the people could not receive adequate and full and sufficient consideration in a system of administration under which the people were absolutely unrepresented in the offices which ultimately shaped their destinies.

In the interests of good administration, the Congress Liberals pleaded that it was absolutely necessary to provide some means not for transferring to Indian hands the ultimate decision of Indian questions—but for securing some representation of Indian opinion in the Executive Councils which decided on great Indian questions. A greater recognition of the popular sentiment and of popular control in the administration of India would have enabled the Indian Government to avoid a policy which led to needless Frontier wars and Imperial currency policy, and Railway policy which were all one of extravagance and of injustice to the people.

The political agitation had started in India on this issue of greater representation of Indians in the public and Military services, and the Congress began its eventful political career by demanding the fulfilment of the pledges given in 1833 and 1858. Dadabhai Naoroji, Malaviya, Gokhale and other great Indian leaders pleaded for Indianisation of higher services, for wider employment of Indians in the administrative and Military services, and all on purely economic and moral grounds. There was demand for employment

in the educational services, as Resolution 6 of 1896 and the subsequent Congress Resolutions 4, 20, 14, 10, 19 bear out; Judicial and Military services were also a subject of animated discussion and debate; [1] the need for simultaneous examination for civil services was stressed.[2]

The liberal traditions in India, as embodied in the Congress stood for the vindication of Nationalism and liberty, and this was based on the conviction that to all intents and purposes, the important peoples of the world were essentially equals in intellect, enterprise, morality and physique and thus to put aside the instinctive hypothesis that faculty for self-government was a matter of 'race' was irrational. Freedom in any sphere would promote the cause of freedom in the rest, as social freedom had to a great extent tended to bring about relaxation of caste restrictions, occupations other than ancestral caste callings, interdining and social solidarity by attempts at amelioration of the condition of the masses.

Self-government was to be the great aim of National politics and the leaders felt with Mazzini that material conditions of the country could not be improved without the solution of the National question, and that concessions were no substitute for justice.

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[1] Report and Proceedings of the Congress 1887—1901 The Resolutions on Judicial services from 1892 were: 4, 8, 12, 10, 4, 11, 4, 20, 14, 3, 11. The Resolutions on Military services from 1886 were: 4, 6, 3, 2, 4, 5, 3, 16, 22, 11, 4, 20, 14, 3, 11. See Appendix.

[2] Dadabhai Naoroji: Speeches, Madras 1910.

B. C. Pal and Surendranath Banerji had stated on several occasions that in all progressive communities, self-government was the only gaurantee for good government. This faith was reiterated by Lajpat Rai as that the first condition of life—life with respect and honour, life for profit and advantage, life for progress and advancement was political freedom, and life without that was no life.' Nothing that was morally wrong could ever be politically right, and the Congress liberals pleaded for social and moral freedom to be realised through the agency of political freedom in a non-violent way and in the name of humanity.

It was an appeal to the British sense of justice and liberty, for the greatest glory of a free born people was to transmit that freedom to their children. Sankaran Nair had said, "it was impossible to argue a man into slavery in the English language." The sacred rights of mankind were written as with a sunbeam in the whole volume of human nature by the hand of Divinity itself and which could not be erased or obscured by mortal power, and accordingly, Dadabhai Naoroji had declared that it was not creditable to the British character that they should refuse to a loyal and law-abiding people that voice in their own affairs which they valued so much for themselves. There was to be an insistence on equality without which there would be race inferiority and national abasement, and there was to be also an acquisition of civil rights and the removal of all dis abilities.

The cardinal faith of all the Congress liberals was unity, perseverance for unity and self-government

under the aegis of the Empire. In the words of W. C. Bonnerjee 'what we want is that there should be Responsible Government for India'. Surendranath Banerji's ideal was the intimate incorporation of India in that great Confederacy of free institutions of which England was the august Mother. In his own words, 'If England wants her rule in India to be permanent, self-government must be accepted. Self-government is the cement of the Empire and is not inconsistent with the paramountcy of British Rule in India. Lal Mohan Ghose in his appeal to the Government stated 'if you deliberately choose to close every avenue to our legitimate aspirations, do you really think that you are strengthening the loyalty of the Indian people?'

There was the appeal to unselfishness, to justice and to humanity which would find a sure response from the heart of the English people. The method of the liberals was to agitate and realize self-government by constitutional means. The true secret of the power of the Congress agitators was the obstinacy of the rulers. The Government would give concessions to the Indians because there was no possibility of turning back, once India was imbued with aspirations for progress and enlightenment on the road forward to liberty. It was the contention of the Congress that righteousness was the vital breath of Imperial statesmanship and that a single act of unrighteousness was disastrous to British rule in India, and Gokhale reminded the government that what the educated Indians thought to-day the rest of India would think tomorrow, and therefore the Indians were resolved by every constitutional means

available to assert under the Providence of God their rights as British subjects.

The Indian Liberal of the last quarter of the nineteeth century placed a premium upon faith rather than upon reason for it was not primarily work or reason which made man right; his heart had to be right. He had first of all to believe rightly and then he would become right by the Grace of Providence. The pursuit of knowledge abandoned the logic of abstract ideas and confronted faith with appeal to experience. The Congress in which the liberal rooted his faith, was a struggle for spiritual and mental freedom from the domination of an alien ideal.

The true Nationalist Liberal was an idealist to whom the deeper cause of the unrest around him was the longing for self-realisation, and whose one hope was the rapturous contemplation of a new and better state for his country. The Congress Liberal discovered that the means for the accomplishment of this ideal was constitutional agitation in a non-violent manner. But science and liberalism had become allies, and the liberal was confronted with the paradox of appeal to reason for justice and self-government and to deny reason in the mode of accomplishment, and thus he turned out to be a rationalist who walked by faith in the wisdom of the irrational majority.

The Nineteenth Century Congress liberal bequeathed great ideals to the Twentieth Century, a new individual personality, religious toleration, achievement of representative government through constitutional

agitation, and the establishment of the right of scientific discovery to prevail against the claims of authority. The liberalism of the Congress was a fighting creed seeking to attain specific objectives, and it sought like all other creeds to make particulars, universals with the result there was no effort needed to see beyond the immediate present into the rapidly changing panorama of its successor.

The political and economic doctrines of the Congress were bound to be challenged with the upsurgence of youth who desired to remove the hindrances to good life; and what seemed as freedom to the Congress Nationalists of the last decades of the nineteenth century was denial of freedom to the people of the second decade of the twentieth century who looked askance at free inquiry, at acceptance of British governmental decisions and in that sense preservation of individual freedom. Liberalism came to be regarded as a doctrine of negation. The legacy of the Nineteenth Century Congress found itself in the beginning of the Twentieth Century divided into types of Congress agitators; one pleading with the Government for the ascendancy of reason over instinct, and the other appealing to brute force in the majority for the realization of the unfulfilled political aspirations of the people.

The Indian Liberals had carried on the struggle for political democracy, which would ultimately turn out to be a condition of the realisation of economic and social equality. To this extent, the liberalism of the Congressites was an indispensable ally of the new social

and political force that was swaying the minds of the people of the Twentieth Century, and the aim of liberalism and the great end of social improvement had to be to fit mankind by cultivation, for a state of society which would combine the greatest personal freedom with the just distribution of the fruits of labour.

It was freedom for which the liberals craved, for in the denial of liberty was the prime menace to the future development of India. The liberals made attack on the exclusive privilege of the landed aristocracy and the bureaucracy. The iniquity of bureaucratic government provoked them to oppose the political control by the government and its henchmen. Liberty and popular government were much the same, for the cause of freedom was of the masses against alien government. Barring to a few enlightened minds, liberty was so much associated with patriotic emotion that it was more a popular illusion, than a clear rational concept.

The liberal conception of liberty involved a faith in fellow human beings, who were sensible and were possessed of property ; and this excluded the vast mass of individuals who had no property, and thus were incapable of achieving their true destiny. They believed in qualified democracy, and in less interference from above and faith in potential perfectability of the individual unaided by the state or legislation. The people were to exercise political responsibility by voting and the higher classes to exercise responsibility by governing. Franchise was to be extended, for the con-

viction was, that the denial of the right to vote was to deny freedom.

In its origin, the Liberal movement in India was essentially political and there was considerable opposition to the government if it aimed to promote social justice or change the social order. The economic framework of society too was to remain unaltered and it was a dogma with the liberals, that the realisation of economic life was beyond the scope of the government of the country. The opposition to social legislation by the Extremist School of thought was inspired by the dogma that enlightened individuals would create a fine society by their own exemplary conduct, and that individuals would not be forced to live nobly by legislation. Liberals of the order of Gokhale, R. C. Dutt, Rash Behari Ghosh, Ranade and Telang, and S. P. Sinha pleaded for economic reform, denounced economic drain as the cause of India's poverty, condemned expenditure on the Military and the bureaucracy which had impoverished the people, and appealed for protection of Indian manufactures against foreign competition, and indirectly thus prepared the ground for a *Swadeshi* movement which would comprehend all aspects of national life, and impart a new vitality for the unregenerate masses of India. The liberals urged for the necessity of industrialisation, pleaded for equality between Indians and Englishmen, and fought against racial discrimination in the sphere of justice, and claimed for Swaraj within the Empire—a sort of reconciliation of Indian Democracy with British Imperialism.

The Indian liberals were political thinkers who did derive their inspiration from general principles of liberty, equality, democracy and nationality, though it was clear that no government could be run purely by abstractions and universals. They were for progressive secularisation of India and its emancipation from the grip of the dead hand, and this process of modernisation was to be accomplished by the assimilation of the best western ideals.

Liberalism according to them was a movement for a more general outlook, for a breaking of chains in a land of oppression and of narrow and ignorant prejudice, and a development of religious and political sympathy for the oppressed. It was an attitude of mind constantly changing in its manifestation according to the circumstances it had to meet, but always essentially the same in itself: it was merely an effort to get rid of prejudice so as to see the truth, and to get rid of selfish passions so as to do the right. The Congress liberals sought an ideal society and hoped to emancipate the masses by means of a well-intentioned state, but they tried to liberate the masses before they had liberalised them. They had refused to face the reality of conflict in all human affairs, and had imagined that nobility of men would cause them to pursue fine ideals in their daily conduct, and thus, they maintained a wholly unwarranted optimism in the kindly intentions of the human race.

With the passage of years the divergence between their professions and practice became clear. There could be some degree of liberalism within the state, but

outside the state there was no law, and no arbiter to administer the law and check acts of injustice and outrage on the conscience of mankind in the international sphere. The liberals found that they could not pursue a progressive policy within and allow the pursuit of an autocratic policy without, for international anarchy was bound to produce its inevitable sequel. Again, the liberal did not see that his liberalism retained a dual attitude towards reason, in that there was an appeal to reason and a denial of reason. The struggle for freedom inspired in the individual, greater self-consciousness and led the Indian on to a new independence of judgment, and the individual to feel himself responsible for his own destiny and thus challenge outside authority exercising control over his mind and conscience, and over his physical environment. He had earned moral franchise and the right to freedom of choice between alternative courses of action. Choice inspired criticism of governmental action ; it also caused self-criticism, and self-critical openmindedness was bound to discourage precipitate action.

While the enlightened community realised that they had little of the philosophy of freedom within their culture, and that therefore liberty was not so much the source as the result of enlightenment, the masses believed in freedom with such intensity of emotion that the intensity itself became a criterion of truth. The average man is essentially a believer and to let people rule is therefore to commit the destiny of man to the guidance of faith rather than reason. Freedom fortifies ignorance with the delusions of

infallibility and rationalises man's will to power, and impossible attitudes are carried over from religion to society and politics for which sanctions are readily available in society.

This was the heritage of the Congress of which Gandhi turned out to be the leader after the First World War. The *ethical idealism* of Gokhale was inherited by Mahatma Gandhi, and he and his followers shared the hope of the liberal that political responsibility and the exercise of political power, would educate the public and thus lead them in time to the liberal understanding and love for freedom. Mahatma Gandhi discovered the discrepancy between liberalism within the State and liberalism without and sought to set this right by the doctrine of Truth and Non-Violence which was of universal applicability and by the technique of Satyagraha. These modes of thinking and of action were an intensification of the liberal way of life of which Malaviya, Ranade and Gokhale were the greatest examples. The spiritual vitality that was dormant in the masses was galvanised to a new life of righteousness and justice, and their latent wisdom was sublimated in the direction of conquest of freedom and international sympathy, by love. The Gandhian movement was thus a fulfilment of the cherished dreams of the Congress Liberals of the last Century.



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APPENDIX

AVERAGE REPRESENTATION AT THE CONGRESSES FOR THE YEARS 1885 TO 1900 ACCORDING TO POPULATION, LITERACY GENERALLY AND LITERACY IN ENGLISH

Province	Area in Sq. miles in thousands	Population in Lakhs			Literate	Literate in English	No. of Delegates in 20 years (for 1 year)	Average per million to total population	Average per million to total No. of literates	Average per million to the No. of literates in English
		Urban	Rural	Total						
Bombay	188·8	35·3	510·2	185·5	19·6	1·4	4078 (204)	10·99	173·47	1403·04
Bengal	189·0	38·7	708·7	747·4	41·9	3·6	2910 (145)	1·94	34·57	390 30
Madras	151·6	42·7	339·3	382·0	23·9	1·8	3331 (167)	4·37	69·47	870·09
United Provinces, Agra & Oudh	112·6	52·7	424·2	476·9	14·7	0·9	2531 (127)	2·66	85·88	1292·13
Central Provinces	116·0	8·2	90·3	98·7	2·9	0.2	794 (40)	4·05	135·80	1721·31
Behar	17·8	4·2	23·3	27·5	1·2	0·08	1546 (52)	1·89	421·68	6197·80
Punjab	133·7	23·3	18·9	203·3	8·4	0·9	1107 (59)	2·90	71·17	618·02
Assam	56·2	1·8	59·4	61·2	2·1	0·2	56 (3)	0·49	13·46	139.46
Ajmeer	2·7	1·2	3·5	4·7	0·3	0·04	11	—	—	—
Native States	—	71·0	553·6	624·6	4·0	1·2	315 (16)	·25	6·17	123·03

The figures quoted are from the Census Report of 1901.

N.B.—**In the preparation of these Charts Annie Beasant's** How India wrought her Freedom and L. K. Gokhale; **Report** on the **Indian National Congress have been invaluable.**

PROPORTION OF REPRESENTATION TO POPULATION ACCORDING TO RELIGION

Name of Religion	Population	Its percentage to total population	Percentage in the Delegates	Average No. of delegates per year	Number of Delegates per milion of population
Hindus, including Sikhs, Jains and Buddhists	228,737,420	77.60	86.9	707.95	3.09
Mahomedans	61,458,077	21.20	9.8	79.45	0.3
Christian	2,923,241	1.00	1.7	14.3	4.98
Parsees	94,190	.03	1.5	12.5	132.69
Jews	18,228	.006	.04	.35	0.33

REPRESENTATION AT THE CONGRESS ACCORDING TO RELIGION

Religion		Years															
		85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	00
Hindus	...	59	392	498	981	1536	535	710	525	771	1118	1537	712	620	597	420	502
Mohamadans	...	2	34	79	222	254	112	69	89	64	21	20	53	56	9	311	57
Christian	...	2	2	25	38	54	23	25	10	14	18	10	15	8	7	6	4
Parsees	...	9	8	5	7	44	7	8	1	18	6	16	4	8	1	2	4
Jews	...					1						1					
Total	...	72	436	607	1248	1889	677	812	625	867	1163	1584	784	692	614	739	567

ATTENDANCE OF DELEGATES AT THE CONGRESS FROM BRITISH INDIA DURING THE YEARS 1885-1900

Bengal	Area in thousands	Popula-tion in thousands	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	00
Patna	23·7	155·0	-	28	8	82	13	49	11	19	2	—	—	37	—	—	3	—
Bhagalpur	20·5	87·2	-	3	4	15	14	31	6	8	6	—	3	24	3	3	5	7
Rajshahi	17·4	84·9	-	22	13	9	11	31	8	8	4	6	9	33	6	2	6	5
Bardwan	18·5	82·3	-	20	12	24	21	40	6	10	—	1	2	63	4	4	—	2
Dacca	12 3	107·9	-	22	6	19	13	52	3	12	9	6	7	79	2	6	10	2
Presidency	12·1	86 9	3	97	28	91	85	144	31	34	29	15	30	344	18	39	16	116
Chittagong	11·7	47·4	-	—	5	5	2	9	1	2	—	1	—	9	—	—	2	—
Orissa	9·8	43·4	-	1	2	2	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	5	—	—
Chota Nagpur	26·9	49·0	-	1	2	5	6	10	3	7	9	1	—	10	—	—	—	—
Total			3	231	75	251	165	369	71	100	59	30	52	603	33	36	56	375

ATTENDANCE OF DELEGATES AT THE CONGRESS FROM PROVINCES OF BRITISH INDIA DURING THE YEARS 1885—1900

Bombay	Area in thousands	Popula-tiion in lakhs	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	00
Sindh	47.1	32.1	2	4	5	6	12	—	2	1	47	4	11	—	—	—	4	24
Ahmedabad	13.6	15.2	10	10	7	14	98	7	6	1	13	6	100	1	—	—	2	2
Central Division	37.0	59.6	8	18	33	76	329	21	83	45	40	62	719	29	11	16	22	10
Southern Division	24.9	41.0	—	1	33	37	138	8	14	9	3	14	192	1	1	3	1	—
Bombay City	0.22	7.8	18	13	15	25	213	10	22	15	18	43	137	21	5	5	7	15
Total ...			38	46	93	158	790	46	127	71	121	129	1159	51	17	24	36	51

ATTENDANCE OF DELEGATES AT THE CONGRESS FROM PROVINCES OF BRITISH INDIA DURING THE YEARS 1885—1900

Madras	Area in thousands	Population in lakhs	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	00
Madras City	.027	5.1	8	14	100	34	94	19	17	10	4	174	41	15	12	144	7	6
Anantapur Etc.	41.8	381.8	13	33	256	59	264	42	44	28	27	772	70	10	26	378	5	3
Total			21	47	356	93	358	61	61	38	31	946	111	25	38	522	12	9

ATTENDANCE OF DELEGATES AT THE CONGRESS FROM PROVINCES DURING THE YEARS 1885—1904

United Provinces of Agra & Oudh	Area	Population	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	00
Aligarh			—	1	5	20	9	5	2	12	7	1	2	2	1	2	7	2
Meerut	11.4	59.9	—	6	8	56	30	6	3	22	28	1	2	4	1	2	15	6
Agra	10.2	52.3	2	8	4	63	26	7	6	22	22	1	5	—	—	2	18	4
Rohilkand	10.8	54.9	—	5	1	24	14	1	—	13	14	—	—	—	—	—	9	—
Allahabad	2.8	14.9	1	15	4	132	43	34	24	122	13	3	4	8	4	1	22	5
Cawnpore	17.2	55.4	1	15	5	179	90	59	34	157	35	3	9	18	4	1	64	9
Benarese	1.0	8 8	1	—	4	85	17	5	—	16	7	1	3	19	1	4	33	4
Mirzapur	10.4	50.6	1	16	7	131	33	7	—	41	10	1	4	23	1	4	47	4
Gorakhpur	9.4	63.4	—	6	3	17	—	3	1	9	2	1	—	1	1	—	10	—
Kumauna	13.7	12.0	—	1	1	3	1	2	2	4	—	—	—	3	—	—	10	—
Lucknow	12.9	67.8	6	21	24	162	105	112	20	80	30	6	4	8	3	2	405	16
Faizabad	12.0	68.4	—	9	3	20	4	4	—	17	7	—	—	2	—	—	24	—
Total			12	120	69	592	372	245	92	515	175	18	33	88	16	18	664	50

ATTENDANCE OF DELEGATES AT THE CONGRESS FROM PROVINCES DURING THE YEARS 1886—1900

Central Provinces	Area in thousands	Population in lakhs	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	00
Nerbuda	14.6	17.7	—	3	2	13	2	—	24	8	5	—	6	1	2	—	—	2
Jabalpur	18.9	20.6	—	1	1	18	13	3	19	7	5	1	4	4	4	—	—	—
Nagpur	23.9	27.1	—	4	6	18	81	6	274	17	12	16	37	11	44	—	—	—
Chattisgarh	24.9	32.8	—	—	2	2	8	—	17	8	—	—	3	7	—	—	1	—
Total ...			—	8	11	51	104	9	334	40	22	17	50	23	50	—	1	2
Berar	17.5	27.5	—	—	—	19	102	18	130	22	17	13	80	5	541	5	1	4

ATTENDANCE OF DELEGATES AT THE CONGRESS FROM PROVINCES OF BRITISH INDIA
1885—1900

Punjab	Area in thousands	Population in lakhs	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	00
Delhi	15.3	45.9	2	4	1	27	29	5	—	9	52	—	—	2	—	—	12	35
Jalandar	19.3	43.1	—	—	1	17	6	2	—	—	82	—	—	—	—	—	1	31
Lahore	16.4	54.2	1	11	5	29	20	11	5	10	251	1	2	5	—	1	13	208
Rawalpindi	15.6	27.9	—	—	—	1	7	—	—	—	51	—	—	—	—	—	—	73
Multan	30.2	31.7	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	27	—	—	—	—	—	—	14
Total ...			3	15	7	77	62	18	5	19	463	4	2	7	—	1	26	401

ATTENDANCE OF DELEGATES AT THE CONGRESS FROM PROVINCES DURING THE YEARS 1885-1900

Area	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	Population 92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	00
N.W. Frontier	—	2	2		—	—	—	—	18	—	—	—	—	—	—	21
Ajmeer	—	—	5	8	—	—	—	—	—	1	2	—	—	—	—	—
Assam	—	1	3	4	3	7	2	2	—	—	—	3	1	2	1	1
British India Grand Total	72	431	592	1237	1845	676	795	619	864	1152	1479	778	690	601	737	565

NATIVE STATES

ATTENDANCE OF DELEGATES TO THE CONGRESS FROM NATIVE STATES DURING THE YEARS 1885-1900

Native Government		Area in thousands	Popula-tion	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	00
Central India	Indore	8·4	3·7	–	2	2	2	8	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Nizam's Territory	Hyderabad	82·7	111·4	–	1	1	2	7	–	6	1	–	7	16	2	2	12	2	2
Baroda	—	8·0	19·5	–	1	5	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Mysore	—	29·4	55 3	–	–	4	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	7	2	–	1	–	–
Native States under Bombay—Kathaiwar		—	—	–	–		3	12	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
,,	S.M. States	—	—	–	1	2	1	17	1	11	5	3	3	82	1	–	–	–	–
Native States	Madras Presidency	—	—	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
U. P. States		—	—	–	–	–	3	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Central		—	—	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–
Total				–	5	15	11	44	1	17	6	3	11	105	6	2	13	2	2

DIRECTORY OF PROMINENT SPEAKERS IN THE CONGRESS DURING THE YEARS 1884—1900

Name	85	87	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	98	00
1 Banerji Kalcharan	—	—	3	4	3	2	3	—	13	—	7	14	—	15	8	—
2 Banerji Surendranath	—	4	2	1	2	—	2	1	5	6	—	12	12	19	7	5
3 Chintamani C.Y.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	15	—	—	—	—	—	13	4
4 Chowdri Jatindranath Rey	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	13	—	13	4	8	9	14	18
5 Dadabhai Naoroji	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
6 Ghokhle G.K.	—	—	—	—	2	5	8	2	1	6	19	12	—	—	—	—
7 Subrahmanya Iyer G.	1	2	—	9	2	—	—	—	—	5	5	1	13	—	2	8
8 Kaliprassanna Kavyavisarad	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	3	9	—	—	14	4	—	4
9 Karandikar R.P.	—	—	—	—	—	6	11	10	14	18	10	7	—	—	—	3
10 Malaviya Madan Mohan	—	—	—	8	2	1	3	2	8	9	2	12	3	—	13	23
11 Mudholkar R.N.	—	—	—	5	—	6	3	3	2	0	1	13	13	18	13	1
12 Murlidhar Lala	8	1	—	—	—	5	3	13	2	13					2	
13 Naidu Parthasarathi				5						3	16		3	20	1	18
14 Samarth H.M.											14	13				
15 Vaikunt Nath				8	7		6	9	1	2	2		2		3	
16 Tilak B.G.					2		4		10		12	4				2
17 Wacha D.E.	5	2		7	4	4	3	7	15	1	3		1	13	4	

DIRECTORY OF CHRISTIAN SPEEKERS AT THE CONGRESS DURING THE YEARS 1885-1900

	Names	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	00
1	Adam John			7	2									7	15		
2	Atkins				7												
3	Benjamine Jooeph											5					2
4	Capt. Benson					12					2						
5	Caine, W. S.						3										
6	Chambers W.A.									15	9	8			8		
7	Crowley T.P,					8											
8	Evans T.						4		5								5
9	Miss Garland															3	
10	Goodridge J. P.												12				
11	Grub F.	8															
12	Capt. Hear Say				6										20		
13	Howard J.E.				3								12				
14	Humo A.O.	10															
15	Rev. Hume R.A.					2											
16	Morgan Browne										5						
17	Shriev Wright C.F.																
18	Smedloy																
19	Rev. Stephenson W.W.																
20	Rev. Sunderland M.											20					
21	White D.S.	4															
22	Yule George						5										

DIRECTORY OF MUSLIM SPEAKERS IN THE CONGRESS DURING THE YEARS
1885—1900

	Names	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	00
1	Abdul Aleem Khaza		—														
2	Abdul Jalil Moulvi				4												
3	Abdul Kadir							5									
4	Abdul Rahim			3			6		1		6	7					3
5	Abdul Jalil Munshi													13			
6	Abdul Kasim																
7	Abdul Hussain Shaik K. B.			5													
8	Ali Mahammed Bhimji				10	4		4		8		22	16				
9	Chisti Mohurum Ali																4
10	Gulam Ahmad Khan														16		
11	Gulam Hussain Miakhan																
12	Habib Ulla Sahib														20		
13	Hamid Ali			1		2	6			5							
14	Hasmet Hussain Nawab																2
15	Hidayet Bux					2											
16	Hidayet Rasool					2											
17	Hussain Shaik Munhir											3					
18	Kadar Bux Shaik			7													
19	Mahaboob Alum				1							18					
20	Mahomed Budiah Alum												12				
21	Mahomed Hafiz				12												

	Names	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	00
22	Mahomed Hidayet Rassool																
23	Mahomed Sukhavad Hussain					7											
24	Mahomed Yasim Moulvi												11				
25	Mirudin Ahmed Bakshi					2											
26	Mir Wahid Ali				6												
27	Nazir Ali						1										
28	Naziruddin Ahmed Munshi				13	2											1
29	Nazam Udin											18					
30	Nazimudin Kamrudin														7		
31	Oomar Bux Shaik				4												
32	Oomar Mirza Hairat				1												
33	Raza Hussain Khan				13												
34	Riaf Udin Ahmed																6
35	Sadrudin Ahmed							3					19				
36	Syed Ali Avasat																14
37	Syed Hussain Munshi				5		6										
38	Syed Nizamudin Saheb														18		
39	Shaik Hussain Wallad Ahmed					2		6		6							
40	Suleman Haji																
41	Sumar Haji																
42	Suraf Udin		4		1	9	1			16							
43	Wahabudin Movli								1	10							
44	Wahid Ali Rizvi					2											
45	Zaigam-ul-Dewlah Nawab Bahadur																

SOME OF THE PRINCIPAL
RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT CONGRESSES FROM 1885 TO 1900

	Subject of Resolution	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	00
1	Arms Act			8	6	6	2	4	5	3	16	22	11	4	20	14	10
2	Commission to enquire into the industrial condition				10	3	2	8	8	11							
3	Constitution of the Congress			1		13						1			19	10	1
4	Council Executive: appointment of a member												16	11	14	12	
5	Council Leigslative expansion of	3	3	3	2	1	2	2	1					3			
6	Persons to demand trial by Court of Sessions		10			3	3	7	5	3	16	22	11			14	
7	Curreney Question								4						13	4	
8	Education in all its Branches and expenditure				9	3	2	8	8	12	15	20					
9	Emigration Act Repeal of												15	4	20	14	10
10	Examination Simultaneous for	4	7		2	5	2	5	2	5	5	7	5	5	16	14	10
11	Exchange Compensation									15	16	16	11	4	20	14	10
12	Excise and Abkari improvement of ths system of				7	4	4	4	5	3	16	22	51	4	20	9	15
13	Executive and Judical funictions separation of		11	3	3	3	2	7	3	6	12	4	3	8	9	1	4
14	Expenditure—Military equitable contribution to England towards								8					2			

	Subject of Resolution	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	00
15	Expenditure—Military	5					2	3	9		14	3		3			
16	Expenditure—Military: how to meet	6					3						8	7			11
17	Famine—Expenditure												12	9		13	
18	Forest Laws							11	10	9	18	18			20	14	10
19	Jury Right of trial by one half the number of which shall be natives														20	19	10
20	Jury Trial by extension of the system of		8		4	3	2	7	6		11	5	7	4	20	14	10
21	Jury Verdict finality of		9			3	3	2	8	16	11	5	7	4	20		10
22	Permanent Settlement of Land Revenue				14	7	6	3	9	10	2		13	7	6		23
23	Police Administration Reform of				5	3	2	7	5	3	16						
24	Poverty of India		2					3		8	3	22	13	9			
25	Liberty of the Press										19	6	11	6	17	15	
26	Punjab High Court Bill										13		11	4	90	14	10
27	Representation for Central Provinces											15	19	4	20	14	10
28	Service, Educational												6	4	20	14	10
29	Service—Judical											12					
30	,, Medical									4	8	12	10	4	11	5	

	Subject of Resolution	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	00
31	,, Military			4	6	3	2	4	5	3	16	22	11	4	20	14	3
32	,, Militia							4	4	3	16	22					
33	,, Public								2					5			
34	Uncovenanted Civil settlers Indian South Africe										21	9	9	4	12		20
35	Simultaneous Examination for Civil Services	4	7		2	5	2	5	2	5	5	7	5	5	21	14	10
36	Taxable minimum of Income Tax			6	8	3		6	5	3	16	23	13		20	14	10
37	Tax—Salt				15	3	5	5	5	3	16	19	8	4	29	14	10
38	Technical Institutions elaborate the system of			7	10		2						13		18	16	8
39	Modified fixity of tenure									11	2	14	17		6		22
40	Tibetan Aflairs																
41	University Bill																
42	University Commission Recommendatons of																
43	Universities Reformation of												14		4	20	
44	Vice, State Regulation Regarding				12					14	7	16					
45	Volunteering—System of		12	5	6		2	4	5		16	13	11	1	20	24	1(

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